

JPRS-EER-86-095

27 JUNE 1986

# East Europe Report

**FBIS**

**FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE**

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [ ] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

27 JUNE 1986

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

## CONTENTS

## ECONOMY

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Progress of Danube Dams Project Noted (RUDE PRAVO, 12, 13 May 86) .....	1
Czechoslovak Preparations	1
Hungarian Plans, Milos Szanto Interview	2

## HUNGARY

Economic Situation Called 'Dangerous' (Rezso Nyers Interview; FIGYELO, 22 May 86) .....	4
--	---

## POLAND

Shortcomings of Hard Currency Retention Account System Examined (Slawomir Lipinski; ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, No 14, 6 Apr 86) ...	9
--	---

## YUGOSLAVIA

Paper Views Outlook for Developing Kosovo Coal Reserves (Dragan Nedeljkovic; EKONOMSKA POLITIKA, 26 May 86) .....	15
Briefs	
Lapovo-Kosovo Polje Rail Line	20
Belgrade-Bar Line	20
Aid to Underdeveloped	21
Coal Mine Losses	21

## MILITARY

### POLAND

Accomplishments of New Military High School Publicized (ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 24 Mar 86; TRYBUNA LUDU, 26 Mar 86) .....	23
Siwicki Tours Torun School	23
Torun Curriculum, Student Body Profiled, by Zbigniew Maciag	24

## POLITICS

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Horeni Comments on Chernobyl Disaster (Zdenek Horeni; RUDE PRAVO, 4 May 86) .....	27
Mediocrity in Work, Production Assailed (Vladimir Jancura; NOVE SLOVO, 17 Apr 86) .....	29
Official on Shortcomings in Social Sciences (Viliam Plevza; PRAVDA, 26 May 86) .....	32
London TIMES To Blame for Germans' Expulsion (Karel Doudera; RUDE PRAVO, 29 May 86) .....	35
Prague Theater Production Said To Be Antisocialist (Stefan Podjavorinsky; PRAVDA, 4 Jun 86) .....	37
Briefs	
PDRY-CSSR Military Talks	39
Libyan Women's Union Official	39
Vietnamese Envoy Credentials	39

### HUNGARY

Reportage on Visit of MSZMP's Havasi to FRG (MTI, 25 May 86) .....	40
To Meet Political, Economic Leaders	40
Hosted by Lothar Spaeth	40
Official Denies Limitation on March 15 Demonstration Coverage (Istvan Hajdu Interview; UJ TUKOR, 25 May 86) .....	41
Lack of Democratic Process in Councils Faulted (Andras Deak; NEPSZAVA, 18 Apr 86) .....	44



MSZMP 1983 Poll on Political Culture, Behavior Discussed (Antal Bohm Interview; MAGYAR IFJUSAG, 25 Apr 86) .....	48
Article Says Emigre Paper Receives CIA Money, Misleads Youth (Sandor Fekete; UJ TUKOR, 1 May 86) .....	54
Reprint Program To Fill 'White Spots' in Classics (Endre Varkonyi; MAGYARORSZAG, 11 May 86) .....	59
Briefs	
New Nicaraguan Envoy .....	60
Soviet Correspondents Honored .....	60
Bloc Newsmen on Orientation Tour .....	60
Stronger CPSU-PZPR Ties .....	60
POLAND	
UN Envoy Urges Halt to Arms Race, Reduced Military Budgets (Ludwik Arendt; PAP, 24 May 86) .....	61
Mlynczak Meets With Officials in Australia (Krzysztof Mroziewicz; PAP, 27 May 86) .....	62
Deputy Foreign Minister Meets Counterparts (PAP, 28 May 86) .....	63
UN Representative Addresses Economic Situation in Africa (Ludwik Arendt; PAP, 29 May 86) .....	64
Pre-Congress Factory Conferences Continue (TRYBUNA LUDU, various dates) .....	65
Obligatory Party Training Urged .....	65
Railway Workers Criticize Decisionmaking, by Henryk Heller .....	65
Slask Polytechnic Staffing Problem .....	67
Grzyb Voted Delegate From 'Radoskor', by Izabella Wajszczuk .....	67
Lodz University on Ideological Training, by Wieslaw Debski .....	69
Army Units Fulfill Tasks .....	69
Power Plant Construction Firm Conference, by Anna Pawlowska .....	70
Mielec Plant Views Active Party Organization, by Ryszard Zatorski .....	71
Pioma Factory Seeks More Worker Participation, by Jan A. Kraszewski .....	71
Truck Factory Calls for Reform .....	72
Kubiak at Jagellonian University Conference .....	73
PZPR Ideological Commission Reviews Propaganda Work (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 11 Apr 86) .....	74

Party Training Program Improvement Noted (TRYBUNA LUDU, 15 Apr 86) .....	75
CC Member Bednarski Reviews Current Program Discussion (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 23 Apr 86) .....	76
Episcopate Criticizes 'Incomplete' History Education (TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, 4 May 86) .....	78
Articles Analyze, Debate Church State Dialogue (TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, 18 May 86; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 28- 29 May 86) .....	80
Catholic Magazine Assessment	80
ZYCIE WARSZAWY Writer Responds, by Zdzislaw Morawski	83
Weekly Cites Tischner on Faith, Ideology (TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, 25 May 86) .....	88

/9987

27 June 1986

ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## PROGRESS OF DANUBE DAMS PROJECT NOTED

## Czechoslovak Preparations

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 May 86 p 2

[Text] Bratislava (From our correspondent)-More than 4,000 construction workers from Hydrostav Bratislava and Vahostav Zilina are currently working on construction of the system of water projects at Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros. They are finishing laying the asphalt concrete seal on the slope of the left-side dam of the future Hrusov-Dunakiliti water reservoir and are getting ready for this work on both slopes of the feed channel for the Gabčíkovo hydro-electric power station.

The construction workers can also expect a difficult job this year at the Gabčíkovo stage where they are to lay 360,000 cubic meters of concrete for building the power station and lock chambers. This calls for processing 1,000 to 1,200 cubic meters of mixture daily. Maintaining the pace is necessary in order to be able to start up the first machines of the Gabčíkovo power station in 1990. By that time a substantial portion of the total amount of 1.4 million cubic meters of concrete will have been laid on the site. This is the biggest concrete job in the history of our building industry.

Our workers have completed their job on the drainage channel which connects the Gabčíkovo water level with the Danube and are turning over the construction site to their Hungarian colleagues. They will also take over the site of the right-side dam of the Hrusov-Dunakiliti revetment on our territory. Work on the protective facilities of the Nagymaros revetment on Czechoslovak territory is proceeding intensively. Preparations are underway to complete the construction 15 months earlier so the Nagymaros water project could become operational in a shorter time. Construction of the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros system of water projects is continuing with regular cooperation between Czechoslovak and Hungarian working groups and joint specialized scientific teams. Thus, for example, in consideration of ecological requirements, joint research and design work was fully implemented to take care of modifying the original Danube river bed through which only so-called sanitary amounts of water will flow and otherwise will serve to carry off any possible high water flows.

### Hungarian Plans

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 May 86 p 6

[Interview with Eng Milos Szanto, general manager of the water management investment enterprise OVIBER, by Gejza Vilcek; date and place unknown]

[Text] Budapest (From our correspondent)-Eng Miklos Szanto, general manager of the water management investment enterprise OVIBER is head of the Hungarian section of the joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian operational group for construction of the Danube water projects. I spoke with him about the status of the work and objectives of the joint Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project.

"We do not have any unclarified, unresolved problems at issue. This kind of cooperation is possible only when a comradely character is involved," were his opening remarks.

[Question] The first unit is to become operational in Gabcikovo in 1990. Can you characterize the Hungarian tasks?

[Answer] Our special job is construction of the reservoir at Dunakiliti. We are also working on the Czechoslovak side of Hrusov. The work is proceeding at a good rate, it will be ready by the deadline for the Gabcikovo unit. The Hungarian side has the task of extracting 20 million cubic meters of gravel from the drainage channel while the Czechoslovaks are to haul away this amount and partially work it into the feeding channel. This is a critical year in the construction--the earth work must be doubled. We are engaging even Yugoslav enterprises in the work. I dare say that an earth project of this dimension has not been undertaken before in central Europe. This year we are starting to build protective facilities, transfer communications and drain off waste water also on the Nagymaros construction which is to be completed later. This year's work will amount to 3 billion forints and 22 to 24 billion in this 5-year plan.

[Question] What kind of workforce do you have?

[Answer] There are 1,200 workers, including foreigners, on the job now in Dunakiliti. On the drainage channel on the Czechoslovak side 450 of our people are working. By the end of the year the number of our workers on the job will increase to 2,000. Compared with the classic methods of construction the work here is highly mechanized--construction of the foundations, the dredging, the earth work and the concreting--all that is completely mechanized. Last year the work proceeded at the planned rate, this year we were caught with a lot of snow but we expect to make up for lost time in the course of the year.

[Question] Can you characterize the rate of the construction?

[Answer] It corresponds to the level of development of both our countries. From this standpoint the time of construction is realistic. Comparisons, though, are always relative. If I compare it with the building of the dam

which was completed 3 years after the first excavation, then this job would seem to be slow. But if I compare it with those which take just as long but are incomparably smaller and less challenging, then I should be satisfied. Both sides considered very carefully the amount of resources and manpower they could commit to this project. I am referring here not only to financial resources but also the overall labor shortage in both our countries.

[Question] What effect will the completed project have on the Hungarian economy?

[Answer] It is a joint project and I would like to emphasize that all its returns are also joint. Those 3,680 gigawatt hours of energy which the system will deliver is just one of the benefits. When we use the half of this amount of electricity accruing to us that will mean 6 percent of our domestic consumption which will cover a 2-year growth in electricity consumption in Hungary. Except that this will be a top quality power station and it will cover 25 to 30 percent of peak consumption requirements. That is a very high ratio. The essence of the project lies in the comprehensive utilization of the Danube. Besides electricity and ship transportation, the benefits will also be seen in protection against flooding, in development of surrounding places and communities, in the protection and improvement of the environment, in the development of recreation facilities and the growth of tourist traffic, in the regulation of underground waters and therefore in agricultural operations, in improving the quality of the water not only in the Danube but in the whole river basin in our territories.

8491/12795

CSO: 2400/273

ECONOMY

HUNGARY

# ECONOMIC SITUATION CALLED 'DANGEROUS'

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 22 May 86 p 3

[Interview with Rezso Nyers, one of the original drafters and principal exponents of the economic reform NEM introduced in 1968, by Gabor Karsai: "On the Horns of a Dilemma"]

[Excerpts] Question: How does the Hungarian economic reform fit into the process of the development of the whole of the socialist world?

Answer: In the sixties it fitted well into it because there were reform ambitions in a number of Eastern European countries including the Soviet Union itself. The Hungarian reform went further than those but at that time this did not cause problems. In the seventies, however, the earlier trend survived only in Yugoslavia and the GDR, in Yugoslavia in the form of a general reform and in the GDR in that of an organizational rationalization. At that time the Hungarian reform process came to a halt too. In the eighties the situation changed, it became clear that the excessively centralized economic direction has become an obstacle of efficiency and consequently a reform or at least a considerable improvement of the economic direction is needed. Thus at present the Hungarian reform fits again properly into the development of the socialist world.

As a matter of fact the ideas of a considerable changing of the economic mechanism has been raised in every socialist country--with the only exception of Albania. There is no national economy where the model of the socialist economy developed in the Stalinist era could develop undisturbedly.

Question: It seems that local stability has so far been much too important for the economic direction. For instance unprofitable enterprises sooner or later all get financial support and this hinders the development of efficient enterprises and even that of the whole of the people's economy. On the other hand, as Janos Kornai has put it, this appears as the softness of the budgetary limit. I think that this is one of the decisive points where the reform failed to achieve a major change. On what does this depend?

Answer: In my opinion this depends partly on the functioning of the political system and partly on the method of economic direction. It is a decisive question on what level the development of the internal democracy of the party and the trade union is, to what extent it is able to bring to



the surface the interest of the majority and to orientate action accordingly. Due to the underdeveloped state of the manifestation of interests it often happens in our country that the interest of the minority seems to be one of the majority. As for the economic aspect of this question, I do not think that sudden changes are possible in the budgetary policy from the soft limit towards the hard one. Only a gradual hardening of the budgetary limit is possible.

A fundamental condition of the consistency of the economic direction is that it should be supported by the market pressure, including the possibility of import too.

We have to face the fact that the reform could not cross the factory gates in the eighties either. We failed to win over the leaders of enterprises--and I mean here not only managers but a wider stratum--to the cause of the reform. Venturesomeness is not characteristic of the majority of them. In other words, they try to achieve results not by success in the market but by "lobbying," by obtaining budgetary subsidies. This is obviously connected with the attitude of the economic direction, with the softness of the budget too.

Question: In the past two decades the reform process was characterized by a certain wave-motion. What internal and foreign political causes explain the upward trends and the recoilings?

Answer: I think that the wave-motion itself is quite natural and unavoidable. The real danger is if the reform process stops for a long time. Because in this case retrograde processes may begin in the society and the economy and it is difficult to bring the reform in motion again. I think that this was what happened to a certain extent in the price- and financial system between 1972 and 1978. This had its external and internal causes alike.

The internal stability of the socialist countries is an important political factor. But this cannot mean that even a reasonable extent of the risks involved by the necessary changes should be rejected.

In Hungary people who are averse to the reform, or who were simply more careful than others, were of the opinion that it is not useful for the country if within the socialist community it proceeds towards the common aim on a different way. In addition to this in the early seventies it could not yet be seen that by the eighties each of the CMEA countries would pursue an independent economic policy.

Certain difficulties were caused by the inflexible, non-market nature of the CMEA relations. Tensions were caused by the shortage of labour and last but not least by the price increases.

Question: In fact the years between 1968 and 1975 brought a rise of the living standard that was unprecedented in the Hungarian history.

Answer: They did indeed. Nevertheless the public opinion, or the situation shaping it, felt that because of the price increases the living standard got into danger. It is an interesting thing how often false views can be observed in periods of changes when many people are yet uncertain about the judgment of social reality. Consequently the clearing up of ideological questions is an important part of the reform process. In fact after 1968 there were a number of unsolved ideological questions and this had its consequences...

Thus for the success of the reform it is not enough to have a strong, small group that wishes to introduce the reforms by autocratic methods. The reform must be combined with democratization and must rely on a wider social-political basis.

Question: How far have we succeeded in bringing about this social-political basis.

Answer: I think that in the dangerous situation developed as a result of the internal and external difficulties of the country, the political forces formed a group, that is after 1979 a positive group was formed--first of all of party workers, economic experts and representatives of the scientific life--that agreed on the need for the continuation of the reform. The changes necessary in the economic mechanism were worked out, but unfortunately we did not succeed in developing a clear concept that could have made the reform process a social one. I am afraid that due to this fact the political group formed in the dangerous situation is weakening since it could not be reproduced and strengthened through positive actions.

It is a question whether at present, when due to the poor performance of the economy there is again a dangerous situation, this political group will be reproduced and strengthened. This would, of course, be a good thing, but for that an ideology would be needed that reflects the enrichment of the values of socialism and that is understandable for the individuals too. The society is inclined to try to find a solution not by changing the conditions but by their partial improvement--by every branch, enterprise or collective trying to improve its own situation. This is, of course, not enough from the point of view of the future. Nevertheless this intention may eventually form a reform packet and this is one of the great topical tasks of the Hungarian policy.

Question: But these efforts aimed at improvement concern the sphere of distribution.

Answer: Yes. The reform is needed so that the income of the society should be much more, of which more can be distributed. The leadership of the party is aware of this.



Question: On the basis of all this what are the chances for the deepening of the reform process?

Answer: As far as the opinion of the socialist world is concerned, the possibilities of the reform are favourable. Although there are people who deny this because in their opinion for instance in the Soviet Union, not the same thing is meant by a radical reform as in Hungary. I am, however, of the opinion that by the fact that the Soviet policy recognizes the necessity of a radical change of the economic mechanism, it gives enough support to the Hungarian reform process.

Due to the inflexibility of our structure of production and its unfavourable composition, in the short run we shall probably not succeed in profiting from the expected improvement of the world economic situation. Adaptation is unimaginable without reform and the advantages that can be achieved through it involve sacrifices too.

In fact the main problem for the Hungarian economy is not the amount of debts but its proportion defined in relation to export, that is the stagnation of exports. There are people who maintain that this is why the reform cannot be continued. But the connection is the other way round: if we cannot continue the reform we shall not be able to improve our economy either.

Question: What do you consider the pivotal question of the reform, an aim of the reform that the society may support?

Answer: Enlivening. This is a dangerous aim in itself and it must not be considered an aim without the continuation of the reform. Led by momentary interests the Hungarian economy may achieve a quantitative, non-market orientated growth that may lead to a complete upsetting of the external and internal equilibrium. Without the enlivening of the economy, however, the society can hardly be mobilized.

Question: How can this self-contained growth be avoided?

Answer: There is no panacea. We ought to improve our external economic conditions, within it our CMEA export and import structure, or relations with the Common Market and the EFTA. We ought to increase the import of functioning capital. We have to continue drawing credits in accordance with our credit standing. We must gradually liberalize our imports--this is one of the most difficult problems--so that loss-making production can be considerably reduced. Radical measures are needed for blocking the sources of losses. However, the reduction of consumers' price subsidies is not possible, for the time being I consider at most their stabilization as a realistic aim. In the enterprise sphere perhaps we ought to limit the refunding of losses and then leave it to the enterprises what they do with less state subsidy.

Question: Does this mean that we have to undertake the closing-down of places of work too?

Answer: Yes, we have to. But also in this radical process I support gradualness. We cannot close down everything at the same time but we ought to solve some problems every year. Of course, at the same time we have to make provisions for the people relieved, we must help them in finding new places to work and--if necessary--we must help their retraining.

The reform process will not be free from tensions. But even if we took another course we should have to face them not much later. It makes, however, a big difference that while in the reform process the renewal going together with adaptation gives people perspectives, postponement involves the danger that we might miss our opportunities of breaking free. In this respect we are again on the horns of a dilemma.

/9317

CSO: 2020/145

ECONOMY

POLAND

#### SHORTCOMINGS OF HARD CURRENCY RETENTION ACCOUNT SYSTEM EXAMINED

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 14, 6 Apr 86 pp 1, 4

[Article by Slawomir Lipinski: "Within the Lopsided Circle of Hard Currency"]

[Text] The twisted system of managing foreign-exchange allowance accounts [ROD] and credit means that enterprises are slowly becoming self-styled banks. This speaks well of their adaptability but not so well of the financial system.

Up to now, there has really been no doubt that the most effective element in promoting our dollar exports is foreign exchange allowance accounts. While complaining from time to time about the method of allocating allowance rates or about the weak discretionary power [dyspozycyjnosc] of accounts, enterprises in general, were very pleased with the ROD system. Recently, however, exporters have been alarming that this system is breaking down.

In looking at statistical data, it may be said that such concerns are without basis because the allowance system is developing very well. In 1985, the Commercial Bank, Ltd. [Bank Handlowy, S.A.] serviced 702 ROD's for 2,278 enterprises. By comparison with 1984, the number of managed accounts rose 6 percent while the number of enterprises using them rose 4.1 percent. This difference in the growth rate of accounts and enterprises entitled to them results from the fact that a part of the firms, which had previously participated in corporate accounts (e.g. associations), received permission to open individual accounts.

Who Is in Charge of the ROD's?

Additions to accounts had also increased to a considerable degree last year, i.e., by 8.1 percent. In sum, the right to the purchase of 845 million dollars had been computed for the enterprises. Data pertaining to the distribution of the amounts on accounts confirm the fact that a very small group of enterprises plan a dominant role in exports. As much as 74 percent of the amount of last year's allowances has been credited to 54 accounts. (7.7 percent).

During the initial period of the functioning of ROD, there was those who accused enterprises of wanting to accumulate funds instead of spending them currently. There lurked the hidden suggestion that the allowance amounts are

too high and could be lowered. Without a doubt, such a "charge" cannot be made with regard to last year. Enterprises possessing accounts issued 43,000 disbursement orders for a total of 758,900 million zlotys during that period; i.e., they wanted to utilize nearly 90 percent of the amount that had accrued for them last year. They wanted to but could not and herein lies the problem.

Foreign-exchange allowance accounts pertain only to the hard currency amounts that an enterprise has the right to buy from a bank. This, of course, does not mean that it can purchase them when it needs them. It may do this when the centrally determined allotment permits it. Exporters had been complaining for a long time that they had to wait too long for the allocation of the hard currency which they had earned for purchases which cannot stand delays. However, whereas these problems were within the norm previously, from March 1985 the situation has worsened progressively.

Today, it is possible to hear in enterprises the biting but perhaps somewhat exaggerated statement that the ROD system has already become fiction because the right of exporters to have at their disposal a portion of their income remains a right on paper only. The Commercial Bank is being deluged with information about shutdowns with which enterprises are threatened because of the lack of current imports and the resulting nonadherence to export contract deadlines with all of its consequences.

The low degree of the discretionary power of accounts also results in the necessity of reaching more frequently for interventionist purchases and these--as is well-known--are, as a rule, more expensive. There are firms, which had submitted disbursement orders as far back as during the middle of last year and are still waiting to have them carried out. The overdue implementation of disbursement from the ROD at the end of last year amounted to--only in the case of accounts serviced by the Commercial Bank--approximately 300 million dollars; i.e.; well over one-third of the amount that the enterprises wanted to spend. Now, the outstanding amount is nearly 400 million dollars; i.e., approximately one-half of the amount.

At the beginning of the reform, a so-called green light was in effect for expenses from the ROD. It was acknowledged that enterprises are managing their own and, after all, expensive and hard-earned foreign exchange currency very economically and wisely. The simple fact was recognized that the producers themselves know best what imports are indispensable for them and will allow them to achieve the best results. Experience has confirmed that the enterprise import industry is relatively highly efficient. This view continues rather not to be questioned. However, practice has taken a different turn. The green light for expenses from the ROD, which barely constitute approximately one-tenth of imports as a whole, has dimmed.

When the first more significant delays in the implementation of enterprise orders occurred, it was decided that the Commercial Bank should, nonetheless, implement them in the order in which they come in. Unusual interventions were to be examined by the interministerial team for disbursement matters. However, in reality the aforementioned team allocates short-term expenditure limits from the ROD to individual ministries; i.e., ministries decide who can

spend, how much and for what from their own ROD and they submit appropriate lists to banks. Thus, there can be no talk of implementing the orders in the order in which they are received. In this way, branch ministries control the allowance accounts of independent enterprises.

It is unnecessary to write about what people in enterprises, which do not have the power to get on the ministerial lists, think about this.

Free foreign exchange imports increased more than 5 percent last year. At the same time, the growth rate of industrial production fell and dollar exports, particularly with respect to processed goods, were much lower than had been projected. In light of the above data, the answer to the often asked question: In that case, what has happened to these bigger imports? is easier. It is difficult to measure precisely what sort of an effect the collapse of the discretionary power of foreign exchange allowance accounts has on this overall balance. However, I would think this should not be ignored. It is difficult to consider as unreasonable the premise voiced in enterprises and backed up by bankers that the principle, which states that an enterprise has the right to exercise control over a part of its foreign exchange income, be applied consistently because it is not in enterprise expenditures that the threat to the balance of payments lies.

For the purpose of supplementing the above information, let us add that accounts called TROD (for transporters and enterprises of the fishing industry) and KOOP; i.e., accounts for coproducers and exporters, to whom the latter turn over a portion of their income, function alongside ROD type accounts. Last year 47,500 million dollars were transferred to KOOP accounts; i.e. 48 percent more than in 1984.

It may be said that the healthy phenomenon based on the assistance offered by exporting finalists to their coproducers is growing stronger. Whoever might have the impression that this 47,500 million dollars represents the entire flow of funds one form of accounts to another, would be mistaken. It turns out that the flow between accounts is enormous. Last year, the transfers received amounted to 471 million dollars (an increase of 56 percent) whereas those remitted came to approximately 405 million dollars (an increase of 58 percent).

## 20 Credits for Several Firms

This movement is caused by several factors. However, no one doubts that the main reason is the replacement by enterprises of bank institutions by granting each other loans. Therefore, we have the same phenomenon here as in the case of zloty credits granted by the NBP whereas the scale of reciprocal zloty crediting by enterprises is basically equal to the bank credit which they receive.

The replacement of banks with mutual assistance speaks well of the adaptability of enterprises and of their resourcefulness but poorly of financial policies and credit systems.



The possibility of obtaining foreign exchange credit at the Commercial Bank was introduced in the fall of 1983. In 1984, five such credits were granted for a sum total of 9.3 million dollars. In mid-1985, the Bank Council lowered somewhat the interest rate and currently it amounts to--without going into detail--the fixed or variable Libor rate (depending on the type of credit) plus 0.5 to 1.5 percent (if higher).

As a result of this liberalization in 1985, 25 credit applications were submitted for a total amount of 44.2 million dollars.

Five applications were rejected because of the lack of a guarantee that the credit would be repaid or the lack of zlotys for financing the undertaking. Therefore, only 20 credits were granted in the amount of 34 million dollars. Of these, 15 credits (17.6 million dollars) were typically developmental in nature. However, this does not mean that as many firms took this credit.

Hortex took half of the amount in six separate credits for the purchase of a line for the production of apple concentrates. A second significant credit recipient in this group was Polkolor from Piaseczno (2.5 million dollars for the purchase of equipment). Four credits (6.5 million dollars) were taken out from the implementation of already negotiated export transactions whereas practically the entire pool went for the financing of the exporting of automobiles to China (2 credits for the FSO; i.e., 5 million dollars, and 1 million dollars for the FSO in Starachowice). The Prema trade agency borrowed the most; i.e., 10 million dollars for current purchases of bearing trying to avoid interventionist purchases.

The sum of granted credit and its distribution indicate that enterprise interest in this form of obtaining foreign currency is very low. It is being said in the Commercial Bank that the pool of granted credit could be much larger (in the end, the ban even made nearly a million dollars last year on these meager credits). However, enterprises continue to receive foreign exchange too readily from the distribution center. There are cases where a firm is interested in credit, fulfills the conditions and could easily repay it and then declines when it finds someone who does not borrow but simply gives foreign exchange. Obviously, who can blame the enterprise.

However, when exporters who often complain about the lack of foreign exchange for the financing of sometimes even small export-conducive investments are asked when they do not storm banks in the battle for credit, it can be heard that, indeed, they would gladly take the credit if they could repay it from a portion of the income received from the increased exports resulting from this credit. Meanwhile, the rules and regulations stipulate that only those who do not have allowances or whose allowance rate is lower than 15 percent may repay credit from such income or more specifically, from half of it. Those whose allowance rate is higher--and this concerns the majority of significant firms in the export industry--must repay credit solely from the ROD. Furthermore, the regulations dictate that the basis for calculating the allowance ought to be adjusted (therefore, lowered) on the basis of the repayment of foreign exchange credit.

This had its justification with regard to firms which are now repaying credit obtained at one time on the basis of self-repayment. However, this is irrational with regard to firms which are receiving credit on current conditions. On the one hand, credit is to be repaid from the ROD while on the other hand, this ROD is reduced precisely because of the repayment of credit. It is not until December of last year that the Ministry of Finance agreed not to use this rule for new credit recipients. In addition, it is being said that the allowance rate may even be increased for the credit repayment period.

Is this how it is going to be in reality and will this constitute a sufficient incentive for enterprises--only time will tell. However, one cannot help but have the feeling that it would probably be simpler and more useful for the development of the export industry if the possibility of repaying at least the typically developmental credit from a portion of the income arising as a result of this credit would be allowed. However, the granting of credit would be determined only by productive competition.

Much Cry and Little Weal [Z Duzej Chmury Maly Deszcz]

Productive competition--let us recall--was to determine the granting of foreign exchange by way of bidding [przetarg] which was begun with great pomp and circumstance 3 years ago. Soon, however, it turned out that the conditions presented to enterprises made the bids into a completely marginal form.

These conditions have already been eased twice. Finally, in 1983 cooperatives were also permitted to participate in the bidding; the deposit amount, which a purchase must make on a non-interest earning account and which places a burden on his profit for distribution, was lowered; and the period during which this deposit is frozen was shortened. Later, in the fall of 1985, the possibility of buying foreign exchange for capital investment goods for the development of the export industry was expanded and the purchase ceiling amount was raised.

However, these simplifications did not produce a turning point in the functioning of bidding. The purchase of foreign exchange continues to be limited to enterprises without ROD's. Participation in bidding, which is determined by economic sanctions in the form of blocking the developmental fund or ultimately fines for not meeting obligations (something which has not happened yet), is a kind of penalty for the enterprise's inability to push its way into the central distribution center. Last year during the course of numerous bidding, only 29 bids were considered whereby 480,000 dollars was sold to 21 firms. This year's first two bidding sessions saw one qualified enterprise at each session.

It is worth noting here that the foreign exchange sold in the form of bids is used extremely productively. According to the clearing of accounts of last year, one purchased dollar enabled the production of consumer goods for nearly 4,700 zlotys.

In describing interest in bidding as minimal, the Commercial Bank is again looking for causes for the existence of other, less expensive sources of

obtaining foreign exchange. Therefore, it is being suggested that a more daring step be finally taken in easing the conditions placed on bidding participants, above all, the introduction of preferential treatment of those who would like to allocate their foreign exchange for the activation of exports. It would seem that the time has also come for admitting those who hold foreign exchange allowances to participate in bidding.

We are dealing with a paradoxical situation. There is a shortage of foreign exchange--that is true. However, instead of selling them more widely on the basis of efficiency criteria (credit, bidding), they are, in principle, being distributed in a routine manner. In the sea of routine distribution, the most efficient forms constitute barely visible islands. Therefore, they are not a lever for the development of the export industry.

9853/13068

CSO: 2600/400



ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

PAPER VIEWS OUTLOOK FOR DEVELOPING KOSOVO COAL RESERVES

Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 May 86 pp 24-25

[Article by Dragan Nedeljkovic: "There Is No Plan Without Internal 'Kosovo'"]

[Text] Although the people responsible in the Federal Bureau for Planning, the Federal Committee for Energy and Industry, general associations of coal mines and the electric power industry are by and large keeping silent, and only sometimes mention it indirectly or in a roundabout way, the energy future of the country as a whole is very uncertain because development of the fuel and power industry is threatened. Especially in its base segment, in which the Long-Range Social Plan of Yugoslavia for the Period 1986-2000 envisaged "maximum possible use of domestic energy resources."

We might enumerate a number of documents which have been adopted and single out above all last year's Law on the Bases of Social Planning and on the Social Plan of Yugoslavia which over the last 14 years of this century have envisaged and prescribed that the development of the fuel and power industry would be based on a joint energy policy, joint plans and programs for development throughout the economic space of Yugoslavia. The deadlines for drafting and adopting plans for development of the electric power industry, coal mines, and petroleum and gas come and go, we are already at the midpoint of the 1st year of the medium-term plan, and it is becoming clearer and clearer that neither the social commitments nor the legal obligations can be met.

It is increasingly obvious that those commitments and the new pieces of legislation are more a condemnation of the earlier practice of parcelization and republic-province divisions in the fuel and power industry, of voluntarism and the lack of conservation than a sound basis for fundamental changes and for the creation of different relations and the shaping of large technical systems. What does it mean, for example, to prescribe that a joint development plan be enacted in the electric power industry for the current medium-term period and a joint program for the coal mines, when no other factor determining the development of either organization has changed? One does not need to be any particular energy expert to understand how an uncrossable gap arises even with respect to the deadlines: The joint plan or program cannot be enacted for the 5-year period, since not a single new project, neither a mine nor a power plant, can be started and built in that period of time. Put better, everything activated during those 5 years was begun earlier, under different

conditions and different legislation, construction is going on on a large scale, and by and large it is being completed. This is the period in which we should begin construction of projects for the period 1990-1995 and with respect to certain projects even for later activation.

#### Commitments Do Not Mine Coal

The General Association of Yugoslav Coal Mines has prepared a joint development program for the period 1986-1990, including an assessment of the potential for production up to the end of the century. This program, which was drawn up in keeping with the commitments contained in the social documents adopted and the new law on planning, is supposed to be adopted by self-management authorities quite soon, but it contains many "open questions" and dilemmas whose resolution lies outside the range and competence of the coal mines. It could, then, serve as a stimulus and agenda for discussion at some other level of decisionmaking, but not as a plan for development of the mines.

In short, it is reminiscent, if not entirely the same, of the plan for development from the previous 5-year period. It is worth recalling briefly the fate of that previous plan. The social plan for the country's development provided that coal production would reach 82 million tons in 1985, but last year output was slightly less than 70 million tons. The principles and the social commitments in 1980, when that plan was adopted, were the same as now: reliance on domestic sources of energy, reduction of the dependence on imports in the fuel and power industry, introduction of economic instruments, and optimization of production and consumption. The conditions under which the mines are to carry out the plan are the same, if not worse: difficult financial situation, large losses, low personal incomes, shortage of manpower, low personal and social standard of living of the miners, difficult and dangerous working conditions, inadequate and outdated equipment, etc.

Even when the plan was being adopted it was clear that the mines were not capable of carrying it out without "broader social assistance." It was calculated in 1980 prices that about 70 billion dinars needed to be invested to increase capacity by 30 million tons. And what happened? It took almost 3 years for the Federal Executive Council to reach agreement with the republics and provinces on which incentives would be adopted in order to aid development of the mines. It is not just a question of the time which has gone by, but that actually the condition of the mines has deteriorated, and inflation has drastically altered the advance estimates of the size of the investments. For example, it was envisaged that 45 percent of the funds necessary for the investments would be furnished the mines from the contribution on petroleum products, but according to the data of the mines only 1.7 percent of the investment was furnished from that source over the last 5 years! Nor have the other "incentives" agreed to experienced any better fate: They were implemented in part or not at all. There is no reason at all to be surprised that the plan fell short by 12 million tons?

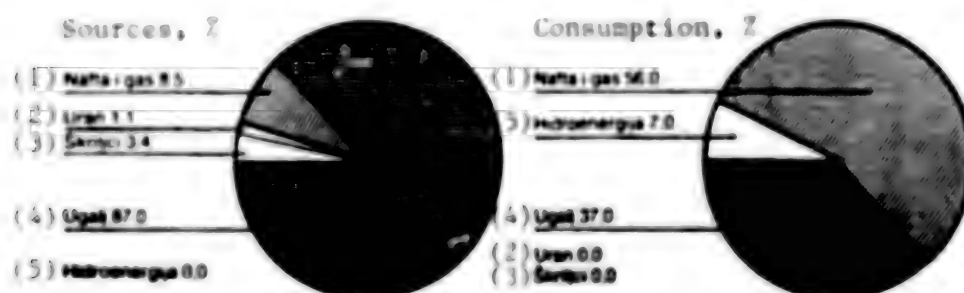
Nevertheless, over the last 5 years the mines have increased their capacity by 45 percent, from 52 to 75 million tons, at an investment of about 130 billion dinars. This is a real miracle, but the price has been very high: further

deterioration of their financial condition, growth of losses, high indebtedness, a relative drop in personal incomes and in the personal and social standard of living of the miners. Assuming 90-percent average capacity utilization, very adverse trends have been recorded: a drop in labor productivity, equipment is getting even older, and production is becoming increasingly expensive.

#### Unless the Nuclear Power Plants Are Built

Just in advance of adoption of development plans for the current medium-term period and up to the end of the century little had changed in the social commitments and condition of the coal mines, but there are essentially new elements which cannot be evaded. It is clear from the graph on the proportional breakdown of sources of energy that coal is the basis of any energy development. It has often been said up to now that the country's most important energy resource has hardly been touched, that republic-provincial divisions over energy and the uneven geographic distribution of deposits have held back and prevented larger production and use of coal, and that erroneous price policy has been a disincentive for development. The people in the association of coal mines have calculated that mining to date has utilized only 5 percent of the available reserves. It should be added to this that geological explorations in the last several years have increased the size of reserves by 40 percent, so that at least from the standpoint of availability there are no hindrances to more intensive development of the mines. Yet it is an open question, one which lies outside the sphere of influence of the mines, whether every republic and province will develop and build its own energy sources, as has been the case up to now, or an evaluation of sources of energy will be undertaken in the context of energy economics, that is, whether energy will be produced where the natural sources exist and where it is economically most favorable, ignoring artificial divisions.

Proportional Breakdown of Energy Sources and Consumption in Yugoslavia



Key: 1. Petroleum and gas                      4. Coal  
 2. Uranium                                      5. Hydropower  
 3. Shale

Note: Hydropower is no longer included in calculation of energy sources until it is exploited.

An equally important element in development is coal consumption or, more precisely, changes in the pattern of consumption which are already evident. Because of the quality of the coal which the country possesses most of the reserves can be economically utilized at the pit head by being burned in thermal electric power plants, by drying or gasification, and then transported over great distances to energy-deficient areas only as transformed energy. This, of course, creates new problems from pollution of the environment to transport, but solutions are being found in the world (fluidized bed of consumption in thermal electric power plants, liquefaction, etc.) which are not mentioned at all in our documents. It is a fact that about 75 percent of total coal production is consumed in thermal electric power plants, and it is probable that in coming years coal consumption in the electric power industry will continue to rise. Especially if nuclear power plants are not built, and this is an urgent dilemma not only for the mines and the electric power industry, but for society as a whole.

In recent years ever more sizable quantities of coal are also being consumed in industry (in 1980 industry, not including thermal electric power plants, consumed 5 percent of the coal, in 1985 it used 16.4 percent), and this is also true of public institutions and residential consumption. Since higher-quality grades of coal are needed for these purposes, production of brown and bituminous or better coal needs to be developed and lignite turned into better-quality fuel by drying, briquetting, and other processes. Even today the mines are not able to meet all the needs of consumers, and that will persist in coming years as well.

According to the joint program for development of the coal mines, an output of 92 million tons of coal could be achieved in 1990 if "aid of society" and "incentives" are undertaken in good time. There are few mines under construction: "Drnno" with a capacity of 6.5 million tons, "Dobro Sejo" in Kosovo is expanding its capacity by 4 million tons, "Bikulje" and "Dubrava" near Tuzla each with 3 million tons should make up in part for mines being closed, and a few smaller mines such as Bogovina, Soko, Rembas, Kakanj, and Breza are under reconstruction which will bring a small growth of capacity.

After 1990, based on the present stage of construction, the plan includes "Tamnava--west field" with 6 million tons and still undefined capacities at Banovici, Zenica, and certain other mines. Capacity has not yet been defined up to the end of the century, when coal production should reach 160 million tons. Perhaps the end of the century seems far away even for the planners, but in the fuel and power industry it is like tomorrow. There is also the obligation to adopt the long-range plan for development of the fuel and power industry this year, but as matters now stand, that will be a difficult task. Here again the plan for coal production depends on undertaking or withdrawing from the nuclear program. Without the nuclear power plants, assuming the growth of energy consumption, especially electric power consumption, remains the same (which many people doubt) as called for by the strategy, coal production would have to increase by 20 to 30 million tons.

## Eyes Turned to "Kosovo"

Along with the many problems and uncertainties brought by long-range planning of the coal mines (furnishing the funds, equipment, manpower, the financial condition of the mines, and so on), the planners, even in the association of Yugoslav coal mines itself, have found themselves in a situation of lacking even the most approximate and basic data. All eyes are turned to "Kosovo" (the reference is to the name of the mining organization, but it is the sociopolitical community that people have in mind). For the period after 1990 there simply is no figure whatsoever from Kosovo, but without it there can be no long-range plan for development of the mines nor of Yugoslavia's fuel and power industry.

That is, 50 percent of total coal reserves are in Kosovo. With an output of not quite 10 million tons last year "Kosovo" had a share of about 15 percent in the production of Yugoslav mines. In the plan up to the year 1990 this organization envisages a growth of capacity to 16 million tons, while its output would rise to 12.5 million tons. Precisely as much as is necessary for the thermal power plants built so far (the capacity of the mines has been "lagging" behind the installed capacity of the power plants built, and production at present is not sufficient to operate all the thermal power plants). A blank is left where the figures should be entered on coal production in Kosovo in 1995 and the year 2000.

The experts, of course, know that before this century is over the coal reserves in Kosovo could be the basis for opening a mine with a capacity of 15 million tons and as much again in Metohija, but this is only a hypothesis without an official figure from the competent organization and sociopolitical community. It is also known that those are the reserves which can be reached most easily and economically: The beds of coal, the depth at which they lie, and other mining-geological conditions classify these deposits among the most favorable in Europe, but those are facts that are not talked about any longer.

7045

CSO: 2800/261



ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

**LAPOVO-KOSOVO POLJE RAIL LINE**--The workers council of the Belgrade ZTO (Railroad Transport Organization) has adopted a decision to modernize the Lapovo-Kraljevo-Kosovo Polje rail line which represents for this work organization, for the Pristina-ZTO, and the entire Yugoslav Railroad network one of the largest investment undertakings. Modernizing this line, according to Petar Anđelkovic, deputy director general of the ZTO-Belgrade, means completing the capability of the Lapovo-Skoplje section of the main, basic Jasenovac-Djevdjelija route, considerably increasing its capacities, reducing transport costs, and making this an efficient method of transport for the economy of the area. Replacing diesel with electric locomotives will make it possible to eliminate worn-out capacities, while the cable network which has been especially vulnerable to winter conditions in the Kraljevo region will be replaced with a more efficient and reliable one. All this will result in an increased volume and quality of transport and more efficient services. Thus, for instance, the Crvena Zastava [auto] plants in Kragujevac will be able to transport automobiles to Bar without changing the system of locomotives and thereby considerably reduce transportation costs. The realization of this project will also improve conditions (and thus also foreign exchange earnings) to Greece, Turkey, and the Near Eastern countries. The project calls for the building of 470 kilometers of track, six electric locomotive substations, 238 kilometers of cable. Work will be completed by the end of 1989 and investment will total about 29.3 billion dinars, according to 1985 estimates, but will now, with price increases, amount to about 65.7 billion dinars. [Excerpt] [Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 23 May 86 p 8]/12/86

**BELGRADE-BAR LINE**--On the 10th anniversary of the Belgrade-Bar rail line it can be said that although the projected expectations have not been met, the functioning of the line has gotten a high assessment. It has opened up and activated a wide economic area and a number of economic and industrial centers and facilities. It has become an example of safe transportation under difficult natural conditions. If additional facilities were built, it would transport more passengers and goods. The 1979 earthquake also reduced results in its economic operation. It was expected that it would carry about 15 million passengers annually, but it had only 4,800; but it did better in regard to goods, shipping about 6.9 million tons compared to the expected 7.7 million tons. The line today has a 20-ton pressure capability and a maximum speed of 70 to 100 kilometers per hour, depending on the particular section. If branch lines could be added, it could serve a 125,000 square kilometer area or 50 percent

of the national territory which also accounts for 44.5 percent of the total SFRY social product and one-half of the population. The total completion of the Belgrade-Bar trunk line, namely, was to depend on the building of transverse lines and transit was to considerably increase (to about 300,000 tons of goods annually) upon completion of these lines. It is expected that the activation of the Titograd-Skadar rail line which is to take place soon will offer the possibility of shipping about 400,000 tons of freight annually with the use of additional routes. At present coal, ore and concentrates, then automobiles are the items most shipped on the line, while the biggest users are the Crvena Zastava plants in Kragujevac, the Metallurgical Combine in Smederevo, and the Titograd Aluminum Combine. [Excerpt] [Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED 28 May 86 p 2]/12766

AID TO UNDERDEVELOPED--Of the 707 self-management agreements on pooling labor and resources based on the Fund for the Undeveloped Regions, most (200) were concluded by Croatia, and 102 of these agreements were connected with constructing plants in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The 191 self-management agreements concluded by Bosnia-Herzegovina (more than 30 percent of the funds which this republic allocates to the fund have been pooled within the borders of this republic) pertain in most cases to building new processing capacities with a high level of manufacture. Of the 172 self-management agreements signed by Slovenian organizations of associated labor with those from undeveloped areas, most (66) are in Macedonia. In Macedonia 177 economic facilities have been constructed in the last 5 years on the basis of such pooling of resources and 146 are in the process of construction. Almost all Macedonian funds allocated to the fund are pooled within the republic itself and 186 self-management agreements have been concluded on the basis of these funds alone. Most of the programs are in industry and mining. In Macedonia it is said that interest [in such programs] is highest when they pertain to providing raw materials and reproduction materials. Of the 135 self-management agreements concluded by Serbian work organizations, most have been concluded with enterprises in Macedonia, followed by those in Kosovo. Of the 115 programs agreed upon in Kosovo more than one-half have been in processing branches. In Montenegro 44 agreements have been concluded; 27 new facilities largely in industry have been built. Partners are mostly from Slovenia, followed by Serbia. A little over 35 percent of the available funds have been used. From the funds which Montenegro is obligated to allocate for pooling through the fund seven programs have been realized, including four in Kosovo. In the 5 years Vojvodina was obligated to pool 20,395,300,000 dinars, and it has pooled over three-quarters of this. Most of the agreements have been made with enterprises in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [Excerpt] [Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 30 May 86 p 12]/12766

COAL MINE LOSSES--In the first quarter of this year Yugoslav coal mines had losses estimated at over 10 billion dinars, with coal inventories growing, and few, if any, funds available for development. Mines are urged to change their operating conditions or they will not be able to meet their planned production of 75 million tons this year. At the time the medium-term plan for developing coal mines was examined, there were few who believed that coal production under the present conditions could increase by nearly 15 million tons by the end of the decade. It is therefore understandable that the long-term plans for mines

and the coal needs of society are becoming a "house of cards." It appears that mines cannot achieve a production of 140 million to 160 million tons of coal considered necessary by the end of the century, not because coal does not exist but because almost all the important promises of society for the faster development of coal mines have come to nothing. Primary in this is the question of the real price of coal and its parity relation with other energy sources on the domestic market. Mines have not yet gotten an indication that the promise of an economic price for coal by the end of 1988 will be realized. [excerpt]  
[Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 27 May 86 p 1]/12/66

CSO: 2800/270



MILITARY

POLAND

## ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF NEW MILITARY HIGH SCHOOL PUBLICIZED

### Siwicki Tours Torun School

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 24 March 86 p 2

[Text] The first college prep military high schools have been opened for the past 7 months in Lublin, Torun, and Wroclaw. A few hundred young men from around the country are being taught in the first few grades. They are being taught according to the normal college prep curriculum with an emphasis on mathematics and physics. In addition, mainly through activities conducted during the vacations, they undergo expanded military schooling.

At the Torun school the results and experience gained to date from the military college prep high schools were evaluated. In addition, the possibilities of developing this form of education for youth was discussed. Army General Florian Siwicki, deputy member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee and defense minister, took part in the meeting. Representatives of the ministry of education and the directors of the other two military high schools were also present.

General F. Siwicki visited the school and took part in a meeting with teachers. During the visit to Torun he also met with farmers of the voivodship. Later he took part in a meeting between a representative to the Sejm and voters. The topic of discussion was the health service problems of Torun and their struggle with the serious lack of hospitals.

Also much attention was devoted to the issue of the conservation of the priceless historic monuments in Torun's Old Town. Gen. F. Siwicki respectfully mentioned the achievements of the region to date in this area and, among other things, stated that maintaining the Torun Old Town buildings in an undisturbed state was a matter for the whole country. The unique urban collection is a national cultural treasure, whose renovation surpasses the financial capabilities of one voivodship alone. For these reasons the issue of the Torun historic sites has also been placed on the project for the PZPR Program.

The minister of national defense also informed the voters of some problems connected with the country's defense system, which result from the present complicated international situation. Another topic was the contribution of the Polish People's Army in the development of the economy.

## Torun Curriculum, Student Body Profiled

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Mar 86 p 4

[Article by Zbigniew Maciag: "At the Military High School--The Attraction of a Blue Uniform"]

[Text] It is clean and tidy in the corridors, classrooms, and dormitories. On the walls there are the suitable papers and pictures of outstanding students. There is order everywhere--new cabinets, books orderly placed on the shelves, beds painstakingly made, polished floors. Among all this there are young smiling boys in blue uniforms.

They came here from different parts of the country. They come from villages, small towns and large cities. They belong to the lucky ones, those who favorably passed the entrance examination and were accepted. Competition was immense with six candidates for each place.

The school we are referring to is the military college prep high school with a mathematics/physics emphasis in Torun, started last September, similar to its sister schools in Wroclaw and Lublin. These new institutions prepare youth for studies at various types of military institutions of higher echelons. They implement a complete college prep secondary school program, and in the educational process they apply elements of technology, computerization, cybernetics, and computer science. On one hand, the school is under the ministry of education and general instruction and on the other hand, the ministry of defense, which supervises the military training.

### Education and Upbringing

The Torun high school, under the patronage of the Higher Officers' School of the Rocket and Artillery Armies and the editorial staff of ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, presently has 114 boys enrolled. After regular classroom hours there is a broad program consisting of upbringing-military events. This program covers the formation of socialist awareness, patriotism, and respect for the military profession. As in other schools, there are regular college prep classes in the morning. These classes are conducted by civilian teachers, who are also the guidance counselors. It is mandatory for everyone, including those who come from Torun, to live in the dormitories. There they are supervised by career officers. There are no military drills--it is more important for the students to form an internal motivation to the profession, rather than a matter of the students' external discipline.

Among those expected this academic year are boys from families of the intelligentsia (nearly 47 percent), over 40 percent from working class families, and nearly 12 percent from peasant families. The school does not lack students of military families, who ended up here due to their parents' prompting. In addition, there are difficult children, who caused many problems at home and school. Their parents hope that while at the high school the students will become more serious and change their relationship to life. The majority, however, are students whose greatest dream is to the possibility of work in the military.

## Preparing for the Profession

The high school prepares candidates for the military profession. This is the fundamental goal. The schools' pupils are to be enlightened citizens of the socialist state, with awakened cultural, scientific, and political aspirations. Much attention is paid to showing the dignity of the profession, its meaning, and its responsibilities, while at the same time pointing out the troubles and difficulties connected with the profession. This makes up a new educational method. What do those affected say about the educational conditions:

Gracjan Musial--The class standards are high, and are conducted differently than at my previous school. We also have time for recreation. We go to the movies, the theatre, we go to discotheques.

Waldemar Kiepas--Excellent conditions for studying and recreation have been created for us. Those who are interested in modern technology and computers should come to Torun. I myself am fascinated by computers so three times a week I take part in classes given by the Computer Club.

During the academic year the youths satisfy their interests in sports--there is judo, fencing, karate, handball, basketball, volleyball, track and field events as well as cultural events. They take part in parachuting and gliding courses, have swimming lessons, and tourist events.

During the vacation following the first academic year the school organizes a free 3-week sailing camp at which they can receive a yacht sailing license. After the second year there is a military training camp, where the students can attain various sporting and defense-related competences. After the third year there is an automobile camp, with the opportunity to get a driver's license.

It is worth noting the fact that 69 students belong to the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) and 34 belong to the Polish Scout Union. In this respect the school leads in the voivodship. The local ZSMP organization cooperates with youths of other secondary schools and organizes dancing classes, sports tournaments, and joint recreational activities. Members of the union are obliged to help weaker colleagues in their studies. The ZSMP chairman takes part in each session of the Teachers' Council dealing with youth.

"After the first year," says Colonel Dr. Maciej Januszewski, director of the high school, "everyone has the right to discontinue his studies without any financial consequences. However, if someone resigns later or wants to transfer to a civilian school, he must repay the costs of the education, as at our school everything is free."

## The Way to Military Stars

The graduates who received a secondary school certificate are accepted without entrance examinations to higher officers' schools. Those with very good grades and particular talent in the required fields can also be accepted without

examinations to the Military Technical Academy, the Military Medical Academy, or to the Higher Naval School. On the other hand, those who received a secondary school certificate without the right to further studies at a higher institution may continue their education at the school for ensigns of their choice.

The idea of opening a military college prep high school came about as a result of great interest in this particular type of education. For example, after a few months of experience gained at the Torun high school, one can say that the schools take advantage of the new teaching methods in the education process, and have an excellent scientific base, a well-prepared faculty, and their own system of raising youth. They want to graduate students who are properly prepared and conscious of the essentials of the military profession.

One must not forget that the students of this school will be active in the 21st Century, in the era of computers, robots, automation. They will work in the army, where technical progress is particularly fast-paced. It depends on the school to a large degree to make their future easier.

13073/7051

CSO: 2600/392

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

#### HORENI COMMENTS ON CHERNOBYL DISASTER

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 May 86 p 6

[Article by Zdenek Horeni, editor-in-chief of RUDE PRAVO]

[Text] The disaster at one of the reactors at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in the Ukraine has for obvious reasons immediately become an object of international attention. The Soviet Government is receiving expressions of sincere sympathy. The energetic steps taken by the pertinent Soviet institutions as well as the self-sacrificing struggle of the Soviet experts and emergency services to localize the sources of radioactive leaks resulting from the disaster have been positively evaluated.

This unusual event is a misfortune affecting the people and in a way also scientific-technical progress and the sizable economic efforts of Soviet society. On this basis, one would expect an attitude by the international public. However, one cannot ignore the fact that since the very beginning, when the TASS report on the Chernobyl disaster became known around the world, this unusual and unhappy event has become a springboard for brazen speculations and for a series of lies and slanders. Certain Western news agencies even started to disseminate false rumors about some alleged 2,000 or 3,000 casualties in spite of the fact that the Soviet side reported concrete data concerning the number of killed and injured.

High places in Washington are perverting this unusual event, the first one in the history of Soviet nuclear energy, even for the political blackmail of the Soviet Union and are trying to exploit this catastrophe for making political capital in international relations. The people in Washington, however, show a surprising lack of memory. They act as if no similar disasters had ever occurred in the United States. Yes, only 7 years have elapsed since the major disaster at the Three-Mile Island nuclear power plant near Harrisburg in Pennsylvania, which also witnessed the escape of radioactive particles. Accidents involving nuclear facilities also occurred in subsequent years in other countries as well.

The leading circles of certain NATO countries -- after the United States primarily Great Britain -- are attempting to whip up real hysteria in connection with the Chernobyl disaster; yes, hysteria. These were the exact words used by a Canadian student whom we quoted in RUDE PRAVO on 1 May. He disagreed with the orders he received to return home from Kiev where he is studying.



There is no doubt about what is behind the hysterical campaign of the last few days. In the first place, it is anticommunism, anti-Sovietism, a notorious effort to muddle international relations, to slander the Soviet Union and the socialist world whenever there is an opportunity, even when a disaster is involved. In the case of the Chernobyl disaster, we are also witnessing obvious efforts to throw a monkey wrench into the relations of the Soviet Union and other European countries, especially those which are its neighbors. In the last analysis, there is also a transparent attempt to divert attention from the basic issues of the contemporary world situation which are being introduced at the international forum by the Soviet Union, such as the prohibition of all nuclear testing, the prohibition of chemical weapons not to mention the well-known proposals concerning nuclear and conventional weapons.

Significant scientific-technical progress results from the successes of researchers in discovering things unknown but also from sacrifices--material and human. No scientific field, no sector of human activity is exempted. All progress made by the human race has a cost, sometimes in human lives. The discovery of electrical energy from classical sources was also accompanied by tragedies among the ranks of discoverers and users. And the situation today is no different. Even when trying to conquer outer space or other targets of human endeavor, individuals cannot avoid paying a tragic price. Let us recall, for example, the disaster which occurred during the 25th flight of the American space shuttle, a seemingly well tested vehicle.

Even researchers in nuclear energy--as far as this cost in human lives is concerned--are no exception despite the unusual and very expensive safety precautions taken. Without going into technical details of such a complex and unusual event as a disaster at a nuclear power plant, one can truthfully state that the struggle of the human being to master all natural forces can never be considered as being over. The human being is constantly facing obstacles in the form of numerous "accidents" and hidden traps....

The friends of the Soviet Union stand at its side at this moment, full of understanding. They display not only expressions of sincere sympathy but especially the feeling of unshakable belief that Soviet science does everything in order to tame the forces of nature which surround us and press them into the service of mankind. Soviet science even tries to force the atom, the source of tremendous power--both creative and destructive--to serve only peace and peace alone.

This is what counts, what is behind the decisive effort of the Soviet people. It also answers the question of what is behind the hysteria which some circles in the capitalist world have unleashed in connection with the Chernobyl event.

1277/7051

CSO: 2400/272

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MEDIOCRITY IN WORK, PRODUCTION ASSAILED

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak 17 Apr 86 pp 1, 2

[Article by Vladimir Jancura]

[Excerpts] Obviously, there is nothing left for us but to put slovenly workers, bunglers, and producers of rejects and non-salable goods outside the law. Such a law is already being drafted in the Soviet Union. The announcement to this effect was made by Mikhail Gorbachev at a meeting of the Zhiguli car workers. In the past, appeals were made to workers to strive harder, calls appealing to the conscience of economists, statements stressing the problems, and symbolic fines were announced. It is necessary to adopt and implement much more serious measures. Those who now believe that the acceleration of economic development can be achieved by shock treatment at the end of the century are mistaken.

"Quality and nothing but quality," is not only a political slogan but a direct basis of the political strategy of the socialist countries, and this also applies to Czechoslovakia. Consequently, the well-known Leninist slogan "rather less but better" is more topical today than in the past. This slogan is becoming a categorical order of the present. It is necessary to import fewer raw materials and fuels but to make better use of them. We must produce better quality goods at lower cost and be able to sell them more profitably. In practice, however, we have so far observed the opposite. Lubomir Strougal spoke about the problem at the 17th CPCZ Congress when he stated: "It is almost shocking to see what goods enterprises as well as higher organs permit to be sold on the domestic market and even, regrettably, to export. This must be qualified as criminal negligence which costs us not only lots of money but also our good reputation."

However, we have known for years about the deficiencies of ministerial and especially intra-enterprise control. Its sieve is full of holes and will permit the sale of any rubbish. However, we also know of those courageous controllers who had to pay dearly for their refusal to take a bribe and other principled behavior, who fell from grace in the eyes of their enterprises and higher management, and were forced to change their assignment or even employer. All systems of managing product quality, including automated processes, are extremely ineffective or exist only on paper. Gradually, we are rediscovering the old truth; quality management depends primarily on the quality of management...

In the Soviet Union, they decided to adopt a radical step. Certain selected (so far) enterprises were assigned inspectors from the central organ Gosstandard which is independent of the ministries. In this way, the Soviet Union has adopted the beginning of a system of state control of products. This system is uncompromising and merciless vis-a-vis those who produce rejects as well as vis-a-vis enterprise self-centeredness and group irresponsibility. This experiment has been tried for almost a year and its results are more than promising. Those who violate technological norms as well as those who protect them had to reach deeply into their own pockets. Consequently, the percentage of inferior quality products and claims dropped to a minimum.

Similar criticism was also heard at our congress. It even led to the adoption of a concrete directive -- "to secure the immediate linkage of remunerating economic workers and work collectives with the results achieved in the production of quality goods."

So far, however, nothing has changed, not even the distribution process. Last year, NOVE SLOVO warmly welcomed the decision of the federal government not to permit any circumstance changes to be made in the plan of qualitative indicators at the end of the year. In many instances, however, the practices which had been condemned hundreds of times in the past are being repeated again. The enterprises which exceed the plan target have their targets increased by the ministries at the end of the year; those enterprises which fail to meet the plan are assigned lower targets. Thus, according to the "reports" all is well, all workers make money in the form of distributions and bonuses. Only society is the loser. The really efficient enterprises which still care about the quality of production, stimulate it and insist on it got the worse deal. When they see what is going on elsewhere, such enterprises quickly lose interest and confidence. While the difficult target they are asked to fulfill is made even stiffer, they see that the lagging enterprise next door -- in accordance with the distorted logic of planning based on the achieved level at the end of the year -- is treated by the superior organs complacently.

It becomes obvious that quality production cannot be achieved by mere words. What is also needed is money. After all, we live under socialism. In our country, we are in the stage of building advanced socialism, a stage which obviously will last much longer than we originally thought. At this stage there are other principles of socialist justice and distribution than under communism. Many of us are somehow unable to accept this situation. We worry about the high salary of an inventive designer than about the villa of a black marketer. God save us from a co-worker, who while working hard and long hours, saved enough to purchase a car or to build a country house. People are willing to accuse such an individual of petty bourgeois mentality or call him a slave of materialism. Is there anything wrong when someone wants to make more, even a lot, of money through



conscientious and high quality work? Why do we not rather turn our attention to notorious shirkers, loafers, and bunglers? Why is an enterprise manager afraid to pay more to someone who shows extraordinary results in technical development or to nominate him for a ministerial award? Is the manager afraid that such a worker will become rich? Or that the resulting envy could undermine the collective? Then, what kind of a collective is it which will not permit above average work? Is not such a collective only a group afflicted by the virtue of equalization presenting equalization as equality? The answer obviously is yes. For this reason, in such a collective mediocrity is on a pedestal. He who ventures out of line or outgrows the group will end badly. Indeed, those with talents should not call to themselves any attention in such an environment. Even a "good" manager prefers to keep such people in the background. They should work keeping low profile, without any personal appreciation, in such a way as not to disturb the others...

How to treat this type of social pathology? There is no other way than to make the conditions harder, to lay down harsher rules of the "game" affecting both superiors and subordinates. Let us allow mediocrity -- not to mention below average performance -- to be the responsibility of those who cause it and who nourish it through their indifference, dishonesty, selfishness, and stupidity.

Obviously, the problem of quality production is much more complicated. It reminds us of a Gordian knot of many economic, political, and moral issues which cannot be cut but which can only be patiently and tenaciously unraveled, top and bottom. This can be done with the help of strategic decisions in the central organs and operative measures at each and every workplace. We already know what to do. Why, then, the delays?

1277/12640  
CSO: 2400/254

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

OFFICIAL ON SHORTCOMINGS IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

AU020905 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 26 May 86 on page 3 carries a 3,300-word article by Academician Viliam Plevza, director of the CPSL Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, entitled "The 17th CPCZ Congress and the Tasks of Social Sciences."

Plevza opens the article by defining the role of social sciences in the socialist society. He says that their main task is to study current problems concerning the building of a developed socialist society, to expose and define the objective laws governing social and economic development, and to prepare the groundwork for the party's programmatic activity in tackling major socioeconomic problems. Thereby, they ought to expose the possibilities of, and the paths toward, making a rational and efficient use of the country's potentials and help the party in speeding up the transition toward intensive development. Plevza criticizes the fact that, in spite of "some positive results," this role of social sciences has "asserted itself with unusual difficulties and very slowly" in the past period.

To bring about a turnabout in this respect, Plevza goes on to say, social sciences must "deepen the scientific knowledge of the dialectics of the current state of our society and its trends of development." Only then will it be possible to "objectively assess achieved results, determine the main trends, prospects, and aims of our society's development, and adopt adequate specific political measures." One of the reasons for the need to improve knowledge of the social reality, according to Plevza, is the "justified discontent with the implementation of some party resolutions and measures. This shows, among other things, that the means adopted to achieve proclaimed targets have not always been adequate."

The article continues by reviewing passages from documents of the recent CPSL and CPCZ congresses relating to social sciences. It stresses that both congresses voiced the expectation that the "theoretical workplaces" would raise their contribution to the creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory.

Speaking about the latest party congress, Plevza also says that "unlike the 16th party congress 5 years ago, the 17th CPCZ Congress underlined the importance of historical sciences and the social inevitability of their

further development for the clarification of the progressive traditions of our people, for socialism to be perceived as the logical end product of the working people's struggle for national and social liberation, and for deepening Czechoslovak socialist patriotism and internationalist indoctrination." Plevza says that in the years to come, the historical sciences will have to focus attention on the 70th anniversary of the CPCZ's founding, the 70th anniversary of the October revolution, the 40th anniversary of "Victorious February," the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic, and the 140th anniversary of the revolution of 1848-49. "Of unusual importance in this connection," Plevza continues, "is the problem of improving the quality of the research a propagation of the activity of important personalities of the revolutionary movement of the Czechoslovak people. We can assess as positive the fact that, thanks to the research carried out by the historical science, certain results have been achieved in this field. However, we cannot obliterate the fact that we cannot be satisfied with those results. Unusual gaps also exist in clarifying the role of so-called 'negative personalities,' especially with regard to the political history of this century."

Plevza goes on to say that on 9 July 1985 the CPSL Central Committee Presidium discussed a proposal of the CPSL Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism "for improving the propagation of major personalities of the revolutionary workers and communist movement." In this connection the CPSL Central Committee Presidium stressed, according to Plevza, that "it would be desirable produce also popular biographical sketches (medallions) of distinguished CPCZ officials of Hungarian and Ukrainian nationality who contributed to the development of class struggle, to the national liberation movement, to the victory of the Czechoslovak working people in February 1948, to socialist transformations in Slovakia, and to Czechoslovakia becoming a joint homeland for all its citizens regardless of their nationality."

In the concluding section of his article, Plevza discusses some "problems that stand in the way of raising the performance and improving the quality of production of the existing social scientific potential." He says that for social sciences to be able to live up to the requirements placed on them, they must really be recognized as a factor that helps to speed up the path to developed socialism, which is not always the case: "The fact that social pressure on intensifying basic research is not always and everywhere sufficiently vigorous; the inadequate attention -- considering the existing needs -- that is being paid to the material situation of social science institutions within the framework of our scientific-research base, and to the provision of cadres for them; but also other acts confirm that the times require a fundamental turnabout in this respect as well." Plevza complains that basic research in social sciences is inadequately staffed and suggests that it be "significantly reinforced" at the cost of "overstaffed workplaces, about the existence of which the broad (and even scientific) public can learn only from the telephone directory." Plevza does not specify which "workplaces" he has in mind. He also draws attention to the "unusually unfavorable composition of cadres in social research, in terms of profession, age, and qualification" and to the fact that

"the resources for selecting talents and cadres in general for social sciences are becoming dangerously scarce." Plevza attributes this to the "shortsighted policy" of reducing the quotas for students in humanities and to the "irregular organization of classes in social sciences at our universities." According to Plevza, this situation "requires a speedy and effective solution if we do not want to be responsible for the very negative consequences which disregard for this grave issue would have not only for science but for the entire intellectual and cultural life of our society." Speaking about the young generation of social scientists, Plavza also takes issue with the "declining requirements placed on the standards of postgraduate students." As a result, there is a growing number of bearers of postgraduate degrees, "without any palpable increase in the creative potentials for the solution of the most important social tasks."

/12624

CSO: 2400/294

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

# LONDON TIMES TO BLAME FOR GERMANS' EXPULSION

AU301615 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 May 86 p 7

[Karel Doudera commentary in the "Note" column: "THE TIMES in Particular"]

[Text] So the London TIMES has taken it upon itself to shed tears over the "sorry plight" of the followers of the Sudeten Germans Landsmannschaft and to adopt its anti-Czechoslovak arguments; the venerable TIMES in particular, that paper which is not without blame for the fact that, after the war, the Sudeten Germans had to be expelled from Czechoslovakia. Let it be recalled that in THE TIMES the chief editor, Dawson, wrote in the editorial of 7 September 1938, 3 weeks prior to the announcement of the Munich diktat which was so fateful for the people all of Europe: "If the Sudeten Germans are now demanding more than what the Czechoslovak Government intends to grant in its latest proposal, then one can deduce from this that they do not feel well inside Czechoslovakia. In that case it would be well worthwhile for the Czechoslovak Government to weigh whether it should continue rejecting the proposal which is being favorably received in several places. Czechoslovakia would be made more homogeneous were it to give up its regions containing a foreign population, adjoining the nation to which they are bound by nationality."

In the latest proposal which THE TIMES spoke about in 1938, Hodza's government granted the Henleinites practically all they had demanded in their "Karlsbad Program." And the places which were positively assessing the possibility of breaking off the Czechoslovak border areas consisted in England of the clique around Lady Astor and Lord Londonderry, which exerted influence on the policy of the Chamberlain government and expressed the views of the London Stock Exchange. The coal baron Petschek, whose daughter married, toward the end of 1937, the son of the owner of THE TIMES and moved to London, was perfectly informed about the intentions of this clique; as far back as the spring of 1938 he sold his North Bohemian mines to the Zivnobanka bank at a loss, because even then these British lordships had already decided to sacrifice Czechoslovakia, which they regarded as a "useless formation" hampering Hitler in his aggressions toward the East, against the Soviet Union.

At that time THE TIMES adopted the arguments of Nazi propaganda, which alleged that the Germans' coexistence with the Czech nation in a single state had

become impossible; that the incompetence of the Czechoslovak Government in settling the issue with the German minority was creating a danger for European peace; and that for this reason, and in the interests of peace, the Sudeten Germans should receive their "right of self-determination." It is well known where this has led. The British people, too, have had to pay for the policy enforced by THE TIMES with hundreds of thousands of victims in World War II.

Fearing that the existence of a strong German minority in renewed Czechoslovakia could again threaten peace in the future, the British Government decided -- as the first country in the anti-Hitler coalition to do so -- to agree to the Germans' deportation; in June 1942 it let the Czechoslovak Government in exile know that, after what happened in 1938 and during the war, it had no intention of opposing the principle of deportation in the final solution of the minority issues after the victorious end of the war, in the endeavor to make Czechoslovakia a state which is as homogeneous in the nationality sense as possible. This is how E. Benes noted this in his memoirs.

Could it be that Mr Johnson, who is drawing his "knowledge" from the brochure of the Sudeten Germans' Landsmannschaft, does not know this? After all, even Chamberlain spoke in September 1938 about a "dispute in a distant country between people of whom we know nothing." And despite this he meddled exceedingly in that dispute. Thus, one can merely recommend Mr Johnson not to write about things he knows very little about.

/12624

CSO: 2400/294



POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE THEATER PRODUCTION SAID TO BE ANTISOCIALIST

AU051953 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Jun 86 p 5

[Commentary by Stefan Podjavorinsky: "In Whose Interest?"]

[Text] In our cultural past, in the theater people often sought answers to important problems affecting their conduct, thoughts, and feelings. Together with actors, they were looking for and discovering the meaning of their lives. Even today, good theater is a place where the actor and the spectator interact. Thus, in addition to its esthetic and ethical functions, theater also plays a role in molding peoples' world outlook. Theatrical art immediately reacts to political, economic, social, and cultural phenomena in society. Its responsibility and importance for the development of man's personality lies in that it appeals not only to his reason but also to his emotions. Thereby, it educates. We cannot therefore acquiesce when a drama depicting social problems in a shallow, gray, or vulgar manner appears in the theater, a drama that does not validly express social reality and obliterates it with its peculiar "art" in an attempt to circumvent the true core of the problem. It is to this category of theatrical productions that we might also assign the play "Party," which was presented as a guest performance by the YPSILON group of the Prague J. Wolker Theater in Bratislava short time ago.

Using the example of a family, the performance unambiguously propagated negative moral and character traits. The prototype of a family, and of society that was portrayed cannot but be described as model for identification, especially by the young generation. Have the authors and interpreters of this production pondered its actual effect?

Invectives about attitude to work, interhuman relations, and patriotism, and the portrayal of disharmonious relations among individual family members only accentuated the emotional and moral callousness of the play's protagonists and disparaged the role of the family in socialist society. The protagonists' hysterical reactions, underpinned by primitive terminology, rightly produced resentment by a part of the audience. In whose interest did absence of ideals [bezideovost] and nihilism determine the conduct of individual dramatis personae? Irony, sarcasm, and mockery reinforced the negative social values and norms governing the cohabitation of members of the fictitious family. It can be said that the production has disqualified

itself to the margin of committed contemporary ideological and artistic creative activity. [sentence as published]. In a tendentious manner, and at variance with the social reality, it expounded ideas about us such as those being purposefully cultivated and nurtured abroad by our ideological enemies.

We believe that this was a test of how far it is possible to go in exploiting the stage for the demonstration of forces that have nothing in common with cultivating socialist values but, on the contrary, try to introduce negative elements. Outright insulting was the vulgarization of the word "comrade," which was used in ambiguous connections. This is an expression of disrespect for those who by their dedicated attitude to work and to their fellow man selflessly expressed, and continue to express today, their attitude to the socialist society. It is an expression of disrespect for those who sacrificed that which is most precious, their lives, for the benefit of our present.

Let us recall words from the Political Report of the CPCZ Central Committee to the 17th CPCZ Congress: "The party does not prescribe the forms, methods, and subject matters of works of art, but it will not give its support to anything that debauches peoples' taste or distorts our socialist reality."

/12624

CSO: 2400/294

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

PDRY-CSSR MILITARY TALKS--Talks were concluded in Prague on Wednesday between a PDRY military delegation under the chairmanship of Brother Lieutenant Colonel Muhammad Haytham Qasim, member of the YSP Central Committee and deputy chief of the General Staff, and the CSSR side. The talks dealt with numerous issues connected with cooperation between the two friendly countries and the means of promoting them. Brother Lieutenant Colonel Muhammad Haytham Qasim earlier delivered a written message from Brother Colonel Salih 'Ubayd Ahmad, candidate member of the YSP Political Bureau and minister of defense, to his CSSR counterpart. The message dealt with developing relations between the armies of the two friendly countries. This took place during his meeting with Colonel General Miloslav Blahník, CSSR first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army. [Text] [Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1630 GMT 24 May 86 GF] /6662

LIBYAN WOMEN'S UNION OFFICIAL--Prague, 27 May (CTK)--Marie Kabrhelova, chairwoman of the Czechoslovak Union of Women, received today Naim Abdel Wahdoom, general secretary of the Libyan General Federation of Women, currently visiting Czechoslovakia. Marie Kabrhelova spoke about the tasks of her union in the domestic and foreign spheres, and assured the guest of Czechoslovak women's solidarity with the Libyan people in their defense of the sovereignty and revolutionary achievements of their country against imperialists aggression. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1641 GMT 27 May 86 LD] /9738

VIETNAMESE ENVOY CREDENTIALS--Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, received Nguyen Phu Soai, extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the Vietnam to Czechoslovakia, in connection with his assuming post in Bratislava today. [Excerpt] [Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1030 GMT 9 Jun 86 LD] /12624

CSO: 2400/294

POLITICS

HUNGARY

REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF MSZMP'S HAVASI TO FRG

To Meet Political, Economic Leaders

LD251850 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 25 May 86

[Text] Budapest, 25 May (MTI)--Ferenc Havasi, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, left for the FRG on Sunday on the invitation of Lothar Spaeth, minister-president of Baden-Wuerttemberg. Ferenc Havasi is accompanied by Pal Ivanyi, deputy head of the CC's Economic Political Department, and Attila Gecse, deputy head of the CC's Foreign Political Department. Ferenc Havasi is to have talks with the political and economic leaders of the country.

Hosted by Lothar Spaeth

LD251906 Budapest MTI in English 1827 GMT 25 May 86

[Text] Bonn, 25 May (MTI)--Ferenc Havasi, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, arrived in Stuttgart on Sunday. Lothar Spaeth, minister-president of Baden-Wuerttemberg, gave a dinner in honour of Ferenc Havasi and his party.

/12913

CSO: 2500/295

POLITICS

HUNGARY

OFFICIAL DENIES LIMITATION ON MARCH 15 DEMONSTRATION COVERAGE

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 25 May 86 [no page number given]

[Interview with Istvan Hajdu, Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Budapest Central Committee, by Peter Berkes]

[Excerpts] Question: A most significant question is whether the press has the possibility and the freedom to meet the readers' demands. Let us put it this way. The possibilities of the press, the necessity of debates and tolerance towards different views have been laid down in decisions and laws several times by the policy. However, the judgement of these questions is different in practice...

Answer: ...tolerance is not satisfactory, freedom is not wide enough. This is so. Shall I say, of course. Yes, I do. But this does not mean that our policy has two faces. It does not mean that our political leadership simply laid down nice and democratic principles on the pretence of propaganda while holding down journalists' hands and making them hide the truth. These limited practical possibilities reflect one of the most important dilemmas and problems of our ideological and propaganda work. Recently our interest-relations have become rather many-sided and changeable. Let us take for instance the process of the expansion of independence in the fields of economy, culture and the whole of society which is also supported by our policy and the expansion of the responsibility of local policies. This process gives us a lot of problems. Local policies have to make decisions, take initiatives and of course, they have to take the risk as well which is much more difficult than the execution of a central decision. But the most important problem is that this process is accompanied by the appearance of different interests. All information on these interests are important. Well, the functioning of these interests limits the freedom of journalists declared in laws. Only a few years ago journalists had to "fight" only a few leaders at the top in order to obtain a news or information unlike today when they have to communicate with several forums, organisations. Of course, they have to take the responsibility for publishing a news as well as for the consequences.

Question: I am sorry to say but even if what you have said is true, you have answered only half of the question. There are still a lot of questions concerning political leadership and interest-spheres which are very

important, influence the judgement of our policy, yet journalists as well as public opinion have the feeling that they are not informed properly because political leadership is too cautious without any reason.

Answer: To put it this way, you mean that our political leadership is not mature enough. Or you mean that neglecting consequences--we give space to rumours, "whispering" propaganda, irresponsible lies, wrong information and give space to the propaganda of the opposition.

Question: I did not say that. But in every-day life we do put it this way. For instance, there was a lot of talk regarding March 15th and the information we received on what happened on March 15th. You were personally there at the demonstration which ended up in a police action. What do you think about the "uncertainty of information-supply" regarding this question?

Answer: Let me answer the previous question first. The political leadership has no intention of treating the citizens of the country as immature or minor.

But their main ambition is to handle all events regarding our country as they should be handled and to inform citizens in accordance with this. They want to avoid the under- and over-supply of information. It is very hard to decide when there is a provocative event. When certain people want to be on screen or on the pages of the papers in order to obtain publicity to counter-balance their insignificance. Several aspects play part in decision-making. Mainly in order to prevent "whispering propaganda" and the supply of false information. That is why quick, accurate and full information-supply is necessary even if the significance of such an event is just as great as that of a traffic accident. That is why we cannot deny that we might make subjective and probably wrong decisions.

Question: For instance regarding March 15th?

Answer: I dare say, yes. In my opinion the statement made by a secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union in the programme called "Hurhatter" well after the event should have been made on March 15th, right on the same evening.

Question: But as it was made well afterwards, rumours were made up and as a result of the propaganda of the opposition--mentioning rough police action, this statement did not seem to be satisfactory. Could you tell us what really happened on March 15th?

Answer: There is not one moment which I would not talk about sincerely and openly. Let me tell you that the organisers of the central celebrations have made significant efforts to make these celebrations better, more national, to comply with the spirit of these days and to meet young people's demands and expectations. I myself took part in many of these celebrations. I came to the conclusion--agreeing with several friends of mine--that these ceremonies met even the highest expectations. Of course, excluding demands which wish to turn the ceremonies of March 15th into nationalist, anti-



socialist and even anti-human demonstrations. This sort of activity cannot be given any space at the central ceremonies and that is why they try to interrupt the spontaneous celebrations of young people from behind. Young people enjoy the atmosphere, being together, they are happy about the good weather and that is why they want to go on marching. Together with friends, just like people did in 1848. This is not a principal question, organisers are aware of this and take it into considerations. This is one of the simplest practical questions. A mass march in a capital city is not an every-day event, especially if traffic is not stopped centrally. In spite of the difficulties organisers gave young people to do so. It was not the first time this year that certain people tried to change the purpose of the ceremonies. There are always a few people who want to disturb the spontaneous celebration of young people and turn it into a demonstration protesting against the policy of the country. They try to get young people--who are simply just trouble-makers--to join the demonstration in order to make it look much more significant and massive. Those young people who are infamous for throwing bottles at people in football stadiums and damaging metro carriages. The permanent question is whether the majority of young people marching in the streets accept this or not. If they do not, then these people shout anti-socialist slogans in vain in the crowd and the police and the authorities do not interfere even if they try to do their best to make a lot of noise. However, the police have to interfere if too many young people try to make trouble ignoring the intention of the majority of the people taking part in the marching. This is what happened this year.

Question: In the physical or political sense of the word?

Answer: These two things can hardly be separated but I have to say that mainly in the physical sense of the word. At this stage the political leaders of the opposition retreat and let trouble-makers go on. They stopped traffic at Batthyany Square, they sat down on the roads for "fun," they surrounded a police car and threatened policemen. All in all, such situation developed which certainly shocked all normal citizens. They no longer watched the marching of young people stopping traffic with understanding patience and they wanted order to be re-established in the city. From here onwards it is a police question. Our policemen re-established order quickly and efficiently.

Question: This means that people were not beaten up.

Answer: Well, this is it. Our policemen started their action on time. When it was not yet necessary to use their truncheons. People were not beaten up. Of course, people pushed and pulled each other. On certain occasions the police had to use their truncheons which were all followed by legal actions as this sort of thing is taken very seriously in Hungary. But this time it did not happen. There were no mass arrests either. On that day the police arrested only three trouble-makers and started legal actions against a few people. The police collected many identity cards but as it transpired soon from innocent people who had nothing to do with the demonstration. What can I say? Those people who are present at such demonstrations, even if they only look, take part in it, even if they do not want to. Well, this is what happened on March 15th.

/9317

CSO: 2020/146

POLITICS

HUNGARY

LACK OF DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN COUNCILS FAULTED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 18 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by Andras Deak: "Debate About Debates: Who Was Convinced by Whom?"]

[Text] "Sometime we should organize a debate about debates," sighed a council member sitting next to me during the third hour of a council meeting, when the assembly was still discussing the first item on the agenda, yet the soda placed on the tables, as well as the attention and patience of all present were running low. While the speakers gave detailed descriptions of the most urgent development proposals involving their electoral districts, some of the participants drew non-figurative sketches on the reverse side of the proposals, and others initiated whispered conversations with their neighbors. It was obvious that the people present were becoming less and less interested in the debate, but it kept continuing.

I admit it freely: I was bored too, even though I consider it important and welcome the opportunity to hear well-prepared, good debates that are worth listening to and have meaning. However, there is no sense in an unlimited discussion that stretches into several hours, during which every participant keeps repeating his or her own opinion, and the commentators fail to even relate to each other, let alone present arguments against each other's statements.

By taking advantage of the empty minutes during the council meeting, I had plenty of time to consider what it is that makes a debate good or bad. The question is particularly exciting now: with the new regulations governing the economic management functions of the councils, there are--or could be--genuine topics to debate, be they the establishment of development priorities, the bidding for national subsidies, or its economic consequences.

Where Are Matters Decided?

Due to increased demands for democratic practice and more economic autonomy, as well as a result of the new election laws, it became evident that there are changes in the role of local councils: however, these changes have not yet been accompanied by alterations in one of the most important elements of institutional life, a genuinely democratic debating spirit and debating culture.

This is not at all surprising: For one thing, the democratic nature of public administration and popular representation is inseparable from the level of development in the general democracy of society. And here I am not talking about theoretical demands and opportunities, but about the actually functioning means of popular representation. On the other hand, it is natural that the changes characterizing the new possibilities in council work will appear in the consciousness, and practice, of present-day functionaries with some delay.

Council members became much too accustomed to seeing really important decisions being made outside the council meetings, and the real debates have also been more likely to develop during the so-called reconciliation meetings, with the participation of local functionaries and higher specialized administrators. And when the autonomous practice of councils was mentioned, it was frequently referred to as the democracy of poverty, because, resulting from the shortage of funds, the local councils in fact had no say as to whether their communities should receive a new grocery-store or a dental clinic.

There should be no misunderstanding: The new economic management practices brought no increase in the amount of economic resources at the disposal of the councils; at most, these resources are more closely controlled by the councils. This control applies to the quantity and quality of resources to be made available, and to their utilization. And this in itself radically changes the expectations in connection with council decisions and debates preceding those decisions.

It has long been considered true that decentralization of authority--unless it is implemented simultaneously with democratization--leads to the creation of "local kings." The opportunities of self-government must not become the privileges controlled by a few people--they must remain controlled by the elected representatives of the people. And this is exactly the reason for the reinterpretation of council meetings, since decisions concerning a given settlement or city must be made during these exchanges of opinions.

#### The Role of the Council President

Generally, everyone agrees with the theoretical requirements; problems start to appear when it is time to implement the policies, for example, when one has to conduct a council debate. After all, it goes without saying that much depends on the council president. An important issue, for example, is how he manipulates the meeting. Does he allow opinions and emotions to take their own course, or does he attempt to keep them in some regulated channel? The latter method is not necessarily objectionable, it could even be practically useful, as long as it does not serve a preconceived notion, as long as it does not consider the proposal of the executive council to be perfect and infallible. The constructive, purposeful conduct of debates, preventing obstructionism and filibustering, is one of the most important preconditions for decision-making.

In most cases, the quality of council meetings depends on the topics proposed. If, after looking at their written agenda, council members feel that they are called upon to debate and vote upon already-decided issues, that cannot result in a positive attitude. On the other hand, if the agenda contains choices on genuinely important issues, an interesting council meeting is likely to take place.

This is where the council president enters the picture: Does he really call for substantive debate? Many signs can be indicative of his attitude: Is it more important for him to adhere to the "previously made decisions," or does he want to arrive at a decision on the basis of the council's opinions, accepting the conflicts inherent in such a course? Of course, everyone present must be allowed to speak, and even the length of comments cannot be curtailed. At the same time, however, the president can determine the basic mood of the meeting: for example, by how the item is introduced, how the debate is prearranged, or who gets the first word. And, of course, an experienced council president will always have "something up his sleeve"; a few reserve commentators who, even in the midst of the meeting, can significantly change the prevailing mood, prevent emotions from controlling events, and provide new direction to the discussion.

These are tricks of the trade that are familiar to most council members, and at times they allow themselves to be worn down by the tactics of steam-rolling. Still, the number of so-called aggressive commentators is growing. Among the electorate, such an attitude can guarantee a certain degree of popularity. Council members of this type speak at every meeting and always proclaim the worries of their own electoral district. No matter what is on the agenda, his district needs sidewalks and water-lines, and in fact the problems of others are of no interest.

Undoubtedly, beyond a certain point this type of representation leads not to democracy but to anarchy. Nowadays a council member can only be effective if he can see beyond the borders of his electoral district, place the interests of others within the policies of a city or a community, and tolerate the interests represented by his fellow council members.

The place where such varying interests are synchronized should be the council meeting, the forum that crystallizes the most important tasks and provides opportunities for the voicing of many opinions and the taking of a vote before the actual decision-making, which in fact is the most important element of the debate, even if many people still do not consider it as such. After all, let us just consider that this is the time when it is revealed who convinced whom, which point of view came to prevail.

It is conceivable for someone to disagree with certain points in the proposed course of action, yet--after having become convinced by the other commentators--he could vote for the original proposal. The following is unnatural, but this also happens at council meetings: someone disagrees with one detail or another of a proposal or with how it is worded, does not receive any substantive argument to change his opinion, and still votes for the proposal in the end. This reveals a contradiction between one's words and one's actions.

## Voting Etiquette

The situation is complicated by the fact that the council presidents are frequently responsible for votes of this type. How? Well, the council members may disagree with one of the details of the proposed action, but he does not wish to demonstratively vote against the entire proposal. On the other hand, the president frequently calls for a comprehensive vote on the entire issue, not separating the debated points, even though this would be an important factor. After all, it is possible that others also disagree with certain details, regardless of the fact that they agree with the entire proposal. In theory, of course, the council president can ask for a separate vote on the proposed changes, but--as of now--this still seems to be going against the rules of behavior established for local assemblies.

The observation made by Dr Imre Verebelyi, director of the Institute for State Administrative Organization, at a roundtable discussion hosted by the TARSADALMI SZEMLE also applies to the debates of council meetings: It is not enough to establish the framework for democracy; we should also create the mechanism and the conditions that would compel people to act accordingly. Well, the self-governing nature of the councils is becoming stronger in character, the local leaders and councils are becoming more accountable by the voters, and economic autonomy and responsibility are increasing; these are factors that will serve just such a system of conditions.

This is so obvious that it is not even worthy of debate. At most we can discuss the consequences and results. These lines were intended to contribute to such a discussion. And now I quickly put down my pen, hoping that I have not been too long-winded and that I have remained close to the topic.

12588

CSO: 2500/277



POLITICS

HUNGARY

MSZMP 1983 POLL ON POLITICAL CULTURE, BEHAVIOR DISCUSSED

Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian 25 Apr 86 p 24-25

[Interview with Antal Bohm, sociologist, conducted by Zoltan Acs: "About Ourselves and Others"]

[Question] What do you consider to be a delicate topic in 1986? An issue no one wants to discuss openly?

[Answer] I think that irritating questions which attract more than average interest from the public exist in every society, and these may arouse fear in some people. At times these issues are discussed loudly and publicly, at other times they are mentioned only quietly; however, they cannot be ignored or set aside. If there are tensions in a society and there are more than enough conflicts, then it is normal that sooner or later the delicate topics will multiply, too. These, by the way, could also become suitable contributions to the political capital of certain interest groups.

[Question] The sociologist Antal Bohm participated in the 1983 survey, the largest one yet conducted in Hungary, which tried to answer the question of what forms of political consciousness and behavior exist in today's Hungary. How stable or volatile are these?

[Answer] When we were asked by the Agit-Prop Committee of the MSZMP to prepare a survey concerning the ideological-political conditions and commitments of the working class, we thought that we could tie our investigation to that conducted by the historians, who were studying the areas of national and historical consciousness. We chose 2,000 subjects for our study; they were skilled or unskilled workers, and white collar employees in management positions. In spite of the fact that people in this country are not used to this kind of surveys, our subjects welcomed the interviewers and gave us more honest answers than we previously expected.

[Question] Is this honesty characteristic of everyone?

[Answer] I must make a distinction between people who belong to various social layers. Unskilled workers and subjects with less formal education gave us much more honest answers than white collar workers, who proved to be more cautious. However, I must point out that the survey was conducted in the



autumn of 1983, when the international situation was quite tense, and sharp ideological confrontations were taking shape. As for national consciousness, it was just coming to the forefront at the time; for example, that was the time when the rock-opera "Istvan a kiraly" [Stephen the King] was beginning its triumphant showing.

[Question] Could we hear some of the questions that appeared on the list?

[Answer] Here is an example: What was the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy? 40 percent of the respondents had no idea; 13 percent referred to it as the oppression of Hungarians; 20 percent called it a dualist state; and 9 percent answered by calling it a power block and an alliance. There have been even more noteworthy samples: We asked about the Peace Treaty of Trianon, which is likely to have long-lasting political and emotional consequences. 52 percent did not know what it was; 8 percent considered it a just treaty, while 40 percent considered it unjust. If we break the answers down according to occupations, the results are interesting: two-thirds of the unskilled and half of the skilled workers could not answer, and even among the white-collar workers close to one-third did not know about Trianon. Another of our questions referred to the origins of the Hungarian people. We were shocked to learn that about 20 percent of the respondents still believe that Hungarians are not a Finno-Ugric, but rather a Hun[nic] people. We were also curious about whether they knew how many Hungarians there are in the world? We accepted an answer of between 14 and 16 million people as correct. A little over one-third of the respondents knew the answer, nearly 20 percent did not give an answer, while 28 percent thought there were more than 17 million Hungarians.

[Question] Do you think that people would have appeared better informed if your questions were in the areas of biology, geography or even literature?

[Answer] Earlier sociological surveys also indicate that we are poorly informed, and from this point of view, it makes little difference what kinds of questions we pose. For example, we asked about active politicians who are in the news day after day. Only 60 percent of the respondents could name the Prime Minister of Hungary, and only 46 percent the President of France or the Chancellor of West Germany. This is a much too low level of absorbed information.

We asked people, what do they feel when they hear the national anthem [Himnusz]? The very sound of the anthem aroused an emotional response in 82 percent; only 4 percent stated that they were not interested, and 10 percent said that it depended on the occasion. Among other things, this also shows that there are major differences between emotions and the level of being informed. What appears to me to be dangerous--and there are many examples for this throughout the history of East Central Europe--is that poorly educated people, due to their shortage of historical information, can be mobilized for any purpose.

[Question] We have reached the point where we tend to blame education for everything. However, the schools should not be blamed for this problem. Being poorly informed is not due exclusively to our educational policies, but also to a certain shortage of political information, and an isolation...

[Answer] ... I would state this more comprehensively. I am sure that the schools are not the only ones to blame; although there was a time when, due to debates concerning educational policies, history was degraded to the level of an elective subject in high school examinations, and the teaching of history deteriorated. However, the problem is more complex. It makes a difference, for example, what the child brings with him from home: Does that include an interest toward historical events or a sensitivity to issues of national consciousness? Many people hear from their parents that they should not touch issues of this type, because in this region they always meant trouble. Being informed and being conscious of one's nationality have also been negatively influenced by the false belief, prevalent during the 1950s and even later, that it is possible to develop in this geographic-political region a socialist system which can dispense with the history and traditions of national groups. This concept also has many reasons and explanations, which I do not wish to discuss now. However, one thing must be firmly stated: regardless of the level of development, history and national traditions have always been decisive in many aspects of our lives.

[Question] How can we expect people to become internationalists, when they do not even know their own national histories, and are as likely to have no knowledge concerning the history and literatures of their neighbors?

[Answer] [The writer and Peasant Party politician] Peter Veres said in the 1960s, that our efforts to enlighten simple people should not constitute the use of "populist, nationalist" phraseology, but rather they should be guided to cultivate thinking "in terms of people and nation" through their own everyday interests. This, of course, also refers to political culture, the shortcomings of which frequently hinder the development of historical consciousness. I believe that if people participate in public life as citizens, if they have the opportunity to express their interests and find forums for this purpose, if democracy works as it should, then obviously, they will start thinking "in terms of people and nation," and beyond that, as internationalists. It is relatively easy to guide a democratic society to the acceptance of human equality; however, if we attempt to use equality as the starting point, our efforts may be rebuffed. This is why it is important for us to take advantage of the opportunities to express everyday interests. To this extent, national consciousness is a political issue, because it stimulates mature and responsible thinking, preventing people from being guided by their emotions and prejudices. This is the area in which historical sciences, the schools, the families, and the political order of society can be influential. There are promising signs: Beginning with the second half of the 1970s, our political life has increasingly sought to cooperate with the social sciences and has commissioned studies for the examination of "delicate" topics, such as the one we have investigated.

[Question] And perhaps it is also a good sign that there is an increasing interest in books, films and plays treating historical themes?

[Answer] According to one of my theories, we can distinguish at least three levels in treating national consciousness: One is concerned with information, one with emotional factors, and the third, represented by the science of history, which frequently influences the other two. However, there can be a sharp conflict between the three levels. Nowadays one can observe a dual trend. On the one hand, there is indeed a growth of interest in historical themes, as illustrated by [the rock-opera] "Stephen the King," the plays of [the Hungarian playwright living in Transylvania] Andras Suto, or the fact that so many read historical books and memoirs. At the same time, there is a massive body of people which remains uninterested in all of this. Its members have neither the desire nor the time to expand their narrow horizons. The two types of people have been living side by side for a long time now. Dynamic interest in the past is evidenced primarily among the skilled workers, the intelligentsia, and especially among the young.

[Question] Let us return to the survey questions which have not been mentioned yet!

[Answer] We asked people if they have any heroes whose examples they would like to follow, and who they are. In order of frequency, they mentioned [Lajos] Kossuth [the leader of the 1848-49 war of independence], [Sandor] Petofi [the poet], [Count Istvan] Szechenyi [the reformist leader], and [Janos] Kadar. The first three names do not call for commentary. The fact that Janos Kadar achieved fourth place conveys appreciation for a 30-year-long decisive political trend. We were also curious about what or who in our history would evoke a feeling of shame in our citizens. To the question "What are we [Hungarians] ashamed of?" 63 percent of the respondents answered by saying that we have nothing to be ashamed of, in other words, to use Szechenyi's expression, "We are no worse than any other nations." It is interesting that 71 percent of the unskilled and 47 percent of the skilled workers, but only a smaller percentage of the intelligentsia gave this answer. Our "list of shame" is topped by the Horthy regime, immediately followed by our present-day low level of culture (indicating that people have a realistic sense of the above-mentioned shortcomings), the present shortcomings of our society, and our historical failures. As for individuals evoking shame in our respondents, [Regent Miklos] Horthy, [Ferenc] Szalasi [pro-Nazi politician] and [Matyas] Rakosi [Stalinist dictator] lead the roster. Our healthy self-esteem is revealed by answers to the question "What makes us proud?" In order of frequency, the answers pointed to our industries, our agriculture, our cultural life, and everything we have achieved since 1945. Our successes in sports were mentioned only subsequently.

[Question] Prejudices have already been mentioned several times: Are we in fact full of them?

[Answer] It surprised us to find out that significantly fewer prejudices survive in people than is commonly believed to exist. At first we were considering the use of socio-psychological methods in examining popular views concerning various ethnic groups. However, we did not wish even to suggest prejudiced answers, so we left the answering up to our respondents. Concerning the ethnic groups listed, the majority stated either that they do

not know them, so they cannot give opinions on them, or that "they are just like everyone else." The least amount of prejudice was expressed concerning Austrians, while the most amount, and of the most negative nature, was attached to Gypsies, perhaps because, while we live relatively removed from other peoples, we live side by side with Gypsies. I have already alluded to the time of the survey. The answers reveal beyond a doubt how much actual politics can influence the shaping of opinions.

[Question] And what is our opinion concerning ourselves?

[Answer] I think we [Hungarians] have been much more realistic in talking about ourselves than previously expected. There have been some harsh condemnations expressed, to the effect that we lack ethnic solidarity, our enthusiasm and commitment do not last long, our behavior is uncivilized, and so on. We have also asked people, how do they visualize the future of Hungarians 200 years from now? After all, we felt that an image of the future is part of a healthy national consciousness: Anyone who does not have an idea concerning the future has no faith in himself or his nation. We offered various statements, asking the respondents to agree or disagree with them. The statement evoking the greatest agreement (76 percent) posited that Hungary will retain its position among the nations of Europe. The possibility that other nations will choose the Hungarian model of socialism was accepted by 54 percent. 48 percent rejected an alternative possibility, according to which Hungary will achieve a position of leadership in the Danubian Basin, while approximately one-third of the respondents agreed with this. Most people, about 70 percent, refused to accept the possibility that 200 years hence Hungarians will be assimilated by their neighbors. From these answers, we concluded that Hungarians have a healthy confidence in the future of their nation. The respondents refused to agree with the proposition that could be interpreted to imply the presence of exalted nationalism, i.e. the one alluding to a leading position assumed by Hungary.

[Question] Can we generalize on the basis of a sample that contains 2,000 people?

[Answer] I believe that these surveys reveal certain tendencies and thought mechanisms. These are undoubtedly more reliable than our feelings, estimates and preconceptions. To mention just one example: There are people who feel that the danger of nationalism still exists in our country. Looking at the survey, we cannot agree with this; on the contrary, it appears that most Hungarians are not bothered by nationalism.

[Question] What conclusions and lessons can be derived from this survey concerning the future of our social, political and public life?

[Answer] We learned that most people do not think in terms of comprehensive systems and schemes, but frequently allow momentary impressions to influence their judgment. They arrive at systematic thinking through their everyday existence. They view things not from behind well-developed ideological fortifications, but from the point of view of everyday existence. Not only on the basis of this study but also from my previous experience I can state that in Hungary the system of values was upset in many cases. Getting ahead does



not necessarily call for knowledge. The importance attributed to one aspect of quality, knowledge, has declined to a certain degree, as has the importance attached to the sum of information. For many people nowadays, the important thing is not what someone knows, but how much money someone has, and how good of a career he can make. Since education and knowledge seldom pay off, many people are not anxious to obtain either of them.

The other lesson worth emphasizing is that there are problems with the emotional level of national consciousness, namely that it tends to end at the border of our country. We are more likely to think of Hungarians living in the United States or in Canada than the fact that there are also Hungarians, many more of them, in the neighboring countries, who may become forgotten. For a long time we have neglected our national symbols: In my view, we could make much better use of a sober system of national symbols than we have done until now. We should not fear that the utilization of those symbols would make us nationalists.

13201

25000/273

POLITICS

HUNGARY

ARTICLE SAYS EMIGRE PAPER RECEIVES CIA MONEY, MISLEADS YOUTH

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 1 May 86 p 23

[Article by Sandor Fekete: "The Local Value of the Word"]

[Text] If as an editor one has the opportunity, indeed the duty, to pay considerable attention to the best of the international press, one does not exuberantly seek out the emigre papers, which provide only tidbits of second-hand information about the world, and at best only contribute to one's already considerable familiarity with the souls of individuals who edit and contribute to these publications. Still, a few weeks ago I glanced into the first 1986 issue of the Paris publication IRODALMI UJSAG [Literary Gazette] (henceforward PIU), among other reasons, because it once again honored UJ TUKOR by mentioning it; once again, of course, it proved itself unable to rise above its customary level.

They are taunting us here at UJ TUKOR because one of our articles quoted Gyula Illyes' poem "One Sentence On Tyranny," which first appeared in the 2 November 1956 issue of IRODALMI UJSAG, published in Budapest. On this occasion PIU ironically expresses hope of being asked by UJ TUKOR for the right to reprint the poem, at the same time sounding certain that it will never be published in this system.

We may discuss that great poem on another occasion, but now I wish to call a few facts to the attention of the publication so loosely attuned to reality: (1) 10 November 1985 was not the first time UJ TUKOR quoted the poem; it had done so before, when the writer of these lines mused over how to explain the intimate friendship that existed between Illyes, who scourged tyranny in 1950, and [Jozsef] Revai, "the ideologist of tyranny." Also, several books have already praised the poem, among them a 1984 high school textbook which placed it in the oeuvre of the poet. If an emigre newspaper is this poorly informed about Hungarian cultural life, it should issue proclamations on the topic less frequently. (2) The writing that scoffs at the chances of the poem by Illyes being published at home is seriously discredited, since by the time that issue of PIU arrived in Budapest, a posthumous Illyes volume had appeared ("Menet a kodben" [Marching in the Fog], Szepirodalmi Publishers), which included the poem. Of course, the publishers did not turn to the PIU for the



"right to reprint," but to the lawful owners of that right, the widow and daughter of the poet... This is the practice prescribed by law throughout the world. Only the emigre Gentlemen Editors make it a habit to use the works of Hungarian writers without the permission of the authors or their descendants.

Of course, PIU leads the way when it comes to ignoring authors' copyrights in such a cavalier manner. The same issue in which the editors tauntingly "expect" publishing houses or UJ TUKOR to ask them for the right to reprint "One Sentence On Tyranny," contains the first printing of letters from the [Tibor] Dery papers, written by Hungarian writers, critics, editors and politicians. Yet the Paris paper whose activities are based on literary piracy, did not make any effort to obtain permission from the authors or from their descendants to print these letters. If these Hungarian citizens were to file legal complaints, even in France they could obtain satisfaction for injuries to their rights; but, of course, the editor of PIU knows that none of them have any desire to become involved with him in a court case.

As long as the issues of inheritance and rights have come up, I recall Gyula Borbandi's recently published book, "A magyar emigracio eletrajza" [The Biography of the Hungarian Emigre Community], which was sent to me by a historian colleague of mine living in Switzerland. Since not many people in this country know the author, I inform the readers that for almost three and a half decades he was the chief editor of the Hungarian section at Radio Free Europe, and is a militant anti-communist; but he is also a cultured literary scholar, and in his work he utilized a sizeable amount of original sources. Well, in referring to the emigre IRODALMI UJSAG, Borbandi, among other things, reveals that it was founded after 1956 and financed by "the American-directed international organization of intellectuals, the Congress for Cultural Freedom," (p. 276) and that "IRODALMI UJSAG had plenty of money--in addition to setting up an office and covering physical expenses, also for editorial salaries and honoraria for contributors..." (p. 278).

But what is [was] this organization called Congress for Cultural Freedom? I have only now learned from a credible source that "...at the time, it was thought that it used Ford Foundation grants to finance its various literary and cultural endeavors, but later it came to light that it received most of those monies from the CIA..." (op.cit., p. 276).

I stop here, because the recollection suddenly hits me: The golden trio of [Matyas] Rakosi - [Mihaly] Farkas - Gabor Peter [the communist party chief, the Minister of Defense, and the chief of the secret police during the Stalinist period] used to resort to reprehensible tricks to create the impression that there was a connection between the CIA, the American spy agency, and their potential opponents or victims targeted for elimination. Very likely this is the reason why for many years I never wrote down the word: CIA. Even now, it is not I who make this claim, I merely quote what Gyula Borbandi, the RFE-chief in the service of militant anti-communism, writes, namely that the IRODALMI UJSAG was founded with CIA money, in accordance with an American program... In other words, the IRODALMI UJSAG of Paris, created by CIA employees, has neither the moral nor the legal right to consider itself the successor of the IRODALMI UJSAG of Budapest, which until 1956 was edited by communists and published by a communist-controlled house. If it still lays

claim to that position, it acts just like the impostors in the novel ["The Golden Calf"?] by [Ilya] Ilf and [Yevgenij] Petrov, who passed themselves off as the sons of Lieutenant Schmitt.

But what was the program which, according to Borbándi, the American capitalists and spy-masters set down for the IRODALMI UJSAG? "The original idea of the Americans was for the IRODALMI UJSAG to continue with the trend it promoted at home, i.e. a kind of Imre Nagy-ist version of national or reform-communism..." (p.279). However, editor Gyorgy Faludy, obviously because he did not feel like performing a role so opposed to his taste and his principles (at least this is my opinion), "opposed all aspects of this conception," observes Borbándi. As a consequence, Faludy was soon removed, and that was when [Tibor] Meray, the former [communist] party secretary of the Hungarian Writers' Association, arrived on the scene, this time carrying socialist credentials. In the meanwhile, the Americans may have realized that the "Imre Nagy types" would be unlikely to operate within the MSZMP--with the most they (this writer among them) were able to do being to sit in prison, some of them as late as early 1963--and the CIA issued new orders .

At least that is what is revealed by writings that have recently appeared in PIU. In issue two of 1985, the chief editor himself declared that only capitalist methods could help socialism solve its problems. "This does not mean that there are no negative or contradictory elements in Western methods, only that they offer the ladder, even if one with some decayed steps, for climbing out of the abyss." Even more depressing is that Ferenc Fejto, the one-time friend of [the Hungarian poet] Attila Jozsef and a writer-thinker of a caliber quite different from Meray, contributed similar lines to the same issue, justifying, for example, the views of John Robinson: "The horror of capitalist exploitation is dwarfed by another horror, when someone is not subject to exploitation by capitalism." And Fejto himself declares, "The most serious harm the West inadvertently caused the poor (i.e.: third-world, Sandor Fekete) nations was that it inculcated in them an anti-capitalist prejudice."

As you can all see with your own eyes, my brethren, the one-time socialist and the former communist party secretary proclaim together that capitalism is "the only ladder," and that anti-capitalism is nothing more than a prejudice. All right, let them: But how do they get the nerve to refer to the "Imre Nagy followers" who stayed home and did not become Reagan's proteges, as "traitors?" Who are the traitors: those who have fought for socialism throughout their conscious life, from 1944 to the present, or those who went from being "nationalist communists" to being the advance men of international capitalism?

I understand Lenin's anger in referring to Kautsky as a "renegade," but I am familiar with the other side of the coin, too. Even though the author of "The Social Revolution" and other noteworthy Marxist writings himself used other than flowery expressions in attacking Lenin and the October Revolution, still this did not make him an adherent of capitalism. On the other hand, those who for years after 1956 paraded abroad under the flag of democratic communism, but now labor on producing texts that advocate capitalism as "the only ladder," with their actions retroactively seem to justify our former accusers, who used to present us "revisionists" as American agents. As a

consequence, PIU's men have lost all moral grounds for lecturing those socialists who use their energies in making the Hungarian political system ever more democratic. I have no desire to wax poetic or to preach, but I would like to mention another matter. At the time when certain individuals in London and Paris toyed with the idea of founding PIU, debating about the best methods for realizing "the American conceptions" and for distributing the CIA-dollars which they believed (?) to have come from the Congress for Cultural Freedom, the initiator and present editor-in-chief of UJ TUKOR [Laszlo Benjamin] for years lived in squalor, condemned to silence as a poet, and one of his assistants contemplated the vagaries of history under lock and key, and for about 15 years was not even considered a citizen with full rights. For both of them, it took twenty years to be allowed to become editors again. Yet they did not tailor the editorial policies of UJ TUKOR in accordance with the "conceptions" of the CIA, nor did they turn to other secret services for counsel. On the contrary, while they were exposed to fiery manifestations of hatred by sectarian orthodox elements in power, their efforts to create this publication were assisted by those reform-socialists who made Hungary into an internationally recognized experimental workshop of historical renewal. In other words, the editors and associates of UJ TUKOR are the unheralded but committed helpers of a Hungarian cause, who were no more cowards in "submitting to the authorities" than--contrary to the allusions in the above-mentioned PIU article--was Tibor Dery. Just as [Gyula] Illies, [Laszlo] Nemeth, [Peter] Veres, [Tibor] Dery, [Istvan] Orkeny and others had, we too recognized and acknowledged the imminence of a realistically feasible social transformation, and became its supporters-- in the Hungarian interest. The men at PIU, on the other hand, are specialists employed by the CIA for realizing its ideas. They can comment on, but not participate in the Hungarian struggle, and remain the mere tools of outsiders. In general, they try to stay above the level of the intellectual "Rongyos Garda" [1920s, right-wing, Hungarian paramilitary organization] at RFE, but this does not alter the fact that they belong to the same army and the same master pays their salaries--even if, according to Borbandi's information, those salaries were "significantly" cut in early 1960. (p. 462)

But is it not true that the Sun King aided [Ferenc] Rakoczi in his war of independence [against the Habsburgs in the early 18th century]? Yes, he did. And did not [Lajos] Kossuth say during his years of exile that in the interest of his country he would be willing to make an alliance with the devil himself? Yes, he did. However, today's confrontation is radically different. After all, supporting the feudal and Roman Catholic Hungarian prince [Rakoczi] may have coincided not only with the interests but also with the principles held by the Roman Catholic ruler of a feudal absolutist monarchy [Louis XIV]. The two emperors of the bourgeois order created by the revolution of 1789, Napoleon I and Napoleon III, did not see the creation of an independent and bourgeois Hungary as conflicting with their momentary principles. Today, however, the principles and interests of international capitalism are in no way connected to the existence of socialist order in Hungary. Actions by the leading power of the capitalist world daily demonstrate an intent, recently re-declared in words, to eliminate "the evil empire." The militant detachments of the emigrant community serve that strategy, whether they want to or not.

Increasingly, they seem to want to. While at first we ["revisionists"] only wanted to reconsider the no-longer-valid Marxist theses (there were plenty of those), nowadays some of our former associates act as genuine apologists for capitalism. The domestic Maoist eggs and revisionist larvae hatched into pretty bourgeois liberals, and samizdat publications more and more frequently strike a tone reminiscent of the slogans once proclaimed by the Anti-Bolshevist Committee. Leftist contestants scarcely stand up to the rightward radicalizing groups of internal and external opposition, thus perhaps reducing their own seriousness in the eyes of decent, democratic and reform-minded Hungarian socialists.

The danger in all of the above is not that the militant emigres and their few domestic auxiliaries could shake our political system. At worst, they can contribute to the temporary increase of influence by those who prescribe to more severe measures when it comes to handling the dissidents and the emigres. However, by forming a "People's Front-like coalition" and amalgamating socialistic and right-wing elements, this movement could cause more serious damage by diverting valuable and well-meaning people, mostly from among the young, away from the struggle for concrete reforms and toward unproductive obstructionism and protest. These individuals may even come to believe that they are players in a great game, when in fact they are being toyed with and considered nothing more than clumsy puppets ready to be sacrificed for foreign interests.

We have a historical opportunity: to once and for all eradicate the remnants of a deviant political system that was conceived in anti-national servility and was rejected in the 1956 action taken by all elements of the nation, and to modernize, humanize and re-form, that is, re-shape Hungarian socialism. A reformist youth could become the courageous scouting team in this struggle. The literary, scientific and artistic critique of our conditions, no matter how sharp or intemperate, could contribute to our progress; but only so long as they remain grounded in socialism.

For it is not only numerals that have local values assigned to them, but words, too. It is not possible to speak credibly through the frequencies of RFE or on the pages of the NEMZETOR [Hungarian emigre newspaper published in Munich] or even in the Paris publication IRODALMI UJSAG, because in the given order of confrontation ascribed to by the emigres, even partial truths are distorted to become the mendacious instruments of foreign interests.

12588

CSO: 2500/264



POLITICS

HUNGARY

REPRINT PROGRAM TO FILL 'WHITE SPOTS' IN CLASSICS

[Editorial Report] Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 11 May 86 on page 22 carries a 1,000-word full page article by Endre Varkonyi entitled "Revival of the Classics." The article notes that the Economic and Jurisprudence Publishing House has initiated a program to reprint in the original, the works of many classic Hungarian authors "which have been out of print for decades." Some of the books to be reprinted were basic works for the social science professions before 1948 but since that time are little known to them. The choice of books to be reprinted is based on three points: 1) Whether the author achieved significant renown in his own age, 2) whether the author can acquaint the reader today with the socioeconomic situation of his own time, and 3) whether the work has a relevant message for people today.

The reprint program will focus on the social sciences, especially economics, jurisprudence and politics from such famous 19th century authors as Szechenyi, Kossuth, Eotvoes, Deak. Lesser known today, but equally respected and important social scientists of the past such as Gyula Kautz, Miklos Wesselenyi, and Lajos Mocsary will also have their works reprinted. The article notes that "the more publishers and selected persons researched the selections, the more the 'white spots' of bookpublishing in recent decades became apparent, especially with regard to the works of time-honored authors."

The reprint runs, says the article, will be limited to about 6,000 each and as such are meant for use by libraries rather than private individuals because the cost of the books will be very high.

/12766  
CSO: 2500/279

POLITICS

HUNGARY

#### SKILLS

NEW HUNGARIAN EMBEY--Budapest, 26 May (UPI)--On Monday Pal Losonczi, president of the Hungarian Presidential Council, received Lizandro Chavel Alfaro, new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Nicaragua, who presented his credentials. Present at the event was Hungarian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Gabor Nagy. [Text] [Budapest HTI in English 1643 GMT 26 May 86 Lb] /12913

SOVIET CORRESPONDENTS HONORED--The anniversary of the publication of the first issue of the Communist Party organ PRAVDA in 1912 is celebrated in the Soviet Union as Press Day. The National Board of the publishing house RSW "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" marked this occasion by organizing a meeting in Warsaw on 21 May with Soviet correspondents accredited to Poland. The meeting, which was hosted by the National Board chairman, Wieslaw Rydygier, was attended by leading figures in the Polish press. Also in attendance were Jan Glowczyk and Jerzy Lazarz, head of the Information Department of the PZPR Central Committee. The Embassy of the USSR was represented by Counselor-Minister Mieczyslaw Sienkiewicz. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 May 86 p 2] /6091

BLOC NEWSMEN ON ORIENTATION TOUR--A group of journalists from the press agencies of the socialist countries (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, the GDR, Romania, Hungary, and the USSR) paid a 10-day visit to Poland at the invitation of the Polish Press Agency (PAP). Workers of the "Ziemowit" Coal Mine were among those who extended the welcome mat for journalists from the fraternal countries. They also met with Bogumil Ferenasztajn, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Katowice, and Bogdan Jachacz, head of the PZPR Central Committee Propaganda Department, who gave the guests a briefing on the progress of the party's pre-congress publicity campaign. The guests also visited historic sites around Krakow and laid a wreath at the Majdanek Martyrs' Museum. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 May 86 p 5] /6091

STRONGER CPSU-PZPR TIES--Ernest Kucza, head of the PZPR Central Committee Foreign Department, has been on a visit to Moscow at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. He held talks at the CPSU Central Committee on such subjects as the current status and prospects for the further expansion of contacts between the PZPR and the CPSU and Polish-Soviet cooperation in general. E. Kucza met with CPSU Central Committee Secretary Vadim Medvedev. This meeting was also attended by the Polish ambassador to the USSR, Wlodzimierz Natorf. While in Moscow E. Kucza also took part in a pre-congress PZPR organization conference held at the Polish Embassy. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 May 86 p 7] /6091

CSO: 2600/461



POLITICS

POLAND

# UN ENVOY URGES HALT TO ARMS RACE, REDUCED MILITARY BUDGETS

LD242002 Warsaw PAP in English 1845 GMT 24 May 86

[Article by PAP correspondent Ludwik Arendt]

[Text] New York, 24 May--A three-week session of the UN Disarmament Commission ended at the UN headquarters here. This year, the commission, particularly socialist and non-aligned states, focused clearly on efforts aimed to prevent nuclear war.

A stand adopted by Eastern European states was presented by head of the group of these countries in the UN Ambassador Eugeniusz Noworyta. He said the countries he represented took part in the session profoundly desiring to attain progress in world efforts to improve international situation. Such an approach is motivated by peaceful foreign policy pursued by Eastern European states and the awareness that the arms race and the development of military technology reached a critical level today. This requires a completely new way of thinking and approach if we want to save mankind from destruction. Disarmament initiatives, forwarded in the past few months by Warsaw Treaty countries, and, particularly, by the USSR, serve to find ways to avoid nuclear disaster, to completely stop nuclear weapons tests and to prevent the arms race from entering outer space.

Noting "some progress" in formulating recommendations concerning the reduction of military budgets, Ambassador Noworyta expressed hope that during the next session all states would adopt a "flexible approach" to attain the required unanimity. He also expressed disappointment that once more it was impossible to make progress on the RSA's "nuclear possibilities" as a result of intransigent stands adopted by western states. In the light of Pretoria's military aggression against Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, we cannot understand such a stand resembling historically distant situations and conduct.

We are of an opinion, Ambassador Noworyta said, that the halting of the race of maritime armaments is a matter of great significance as part of overall disarmament efforts, particularly in the nuclear aspect, posing a threat to other states and interfering in internal affair of sovereign countries, particularly non-aligned ones.

/9738

CSO: 2020/142

POLITICS

POLAND

#### MLYNCHAK MEETS WITH OFFICIALS IN AUSTRALIA

LD280335 Warsaw PAP in English 2232 GMT 27 May 86

[Article by PAP special correspondent Krzysztof Mroziewicz]

[Text] Canberra, 27 May--Vice-president of the Poland Council of State, chairman of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party, president of the "Polonia" Association for Contacts With Poles Living Abroad, Tadeusz W. Mlynczak, who has been on an official visit to the commonwealth of Australia, was received here today by governor-general of the country Sir Ninian Stephen who during the talk highly assessed Poles contribution to the development of Australia and expressed support for the idea of commemorating Pawel Edmund Strzelecki, a great explorer of that continent.

Mlynczak also met president of the Senate in the Federal Parliament, Senator Douglas McClelland and chairman of the committees at the House of Representatives Joan Child who introduced to Tadeusz W. Mlynczak members of an Australian parliamentary delegation expected to visit Poland in July.

Vice-president of the Council of State took part in the debates of the Australian Parliament and listened to deputies questions and ministers replies.

Also today Tadeusz W. Mlynczak met with leader of the opposition party of Australian democrats, Senator Donald Chipp who presented the party's stance in the key international issues, expressing deep concern over the arms race, particularly nuclear ones.

Tadeusz W. Mlynczak also held a talk with opposition leader John Howard who showed interest in the current socio-political situation in Poland.

In the evening, a meeting was held between the vice-president of Poland's Council of State and Australian Foreign Minister William Hayden. The sides discussed certain issues pertaining to bilateral relations.

Later, Mlynczak met with Minister of Trade John Dawkins to discuss topical questions concerning economic cooperation and trade exchange. The sides showed interest in expanding (bilateral) trade.

During the talks, Tadeusz W. Mlynczak's partners referred to the tradition of joint struggles of Poles and Australians on the fronts of World War II, stressing that those experiences largely influenced the rapprochement of the two countries.

POLITICS

POLAND

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER MEETS COUNTERPARTS

LD282238 Warsaw PAP in English 1625 GMT 28 May 86

[Text] New York, 28 May--The head of the Polish delegation to the General Assembly's extraordinary session on the critical situation in Africa, Poland's Foreign Vice-minister Jan Majewski has held meetings here with heads of delegations of Angola--Foreign Minister Alfonso Van Dunen, Tanzania--Foreign Minister Benjamin Mkapa, and Mozambique--Foreign Vice-minister Jose Carlos Lobo.

The ministers emphasized the favorable development of bilateral relations between Poland and those countries, and showed interest in their further expansion. They also expressed solidarity with the three nations' struggle for political and economic independence, particularly in the face of the policy of aggression by the Republic of South Africa.

The sides also exchanged views on the situation in Africa in the context of growing tensions in southern parts of the continent, and the coming summit of non-aligned countries to be held in Harare, Zimbabwe.

/9738

CSO: 2020/142

POLITICS

POLAND

UN REPRESENTATIVE ADDRESSES ECONOMIC SITUATION IN AFRICA

LD291639 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 29 May 86

[Article by PAP correspondent Ludwik Arendt]

[Text] New York, 28/29 May--While taking the floor during a special session of the UN General Assembly on the critical economic situation in Africa, Poland's representative, vice-minister of foreign affairs, Jan Majewski said that the policy of armaments and confrontation imposed by the forces of imperialism had been also transferred to the African Continent. This policy is to frustrate aspirations to freedom of the nations in South Africa and Namibia.

Averting this dangerous course, and above all halting the arms race, a return to detente and to a constructive dialogue on the rebuilding of international economic relations would be the greatest benefit for the world, one creating real conditions for solving also the problems of Africa.

Recently, as far as the economic sphere is concerned, we put forward proposals concerning confidence building measures in international economic relations. The implementation of this concept would prevent the use of economic weapons to achieve political goals. There will be no new international economic order if developed capitalist states do not accept the fact that the rest of the world does not constitute only an addition to their socio-political system. The to-date policy of some of these states made interference in internal affairs of other states by means of imposing definite models of development their lasting principle.

We reject this practice as we are of the opinion that the criticism of economic policy of numerous developing countries from the position of interests of capitalism is a brutal form of interference in internal affairs of these states, stressed Jan Majewski.

We consistently and permanently support the restructuring of international economic relations, keeping in mind the interests of all developing countries. Cooperation with these states constitutes one of the priorities of the Polish foreign policy. This was manifested in a draft program prepared for the 10th PUNP Congress, said the Polish representative.

/9738

CSO: 2020/142

POLITICS

POLAND

#### PRE-CONGRESS FACTORY CONFERENCES CONTINUE

##### Obligatory Party Training Urged

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Apr 86 p 7

[Excerpts] The conference of delegates from PZPR organizations at the Rosa Luxembourg Electrical Lamp Works in Warsaw on 9 April concluded a cycle of pregress factory conferences in the Wola neighborhood.

As in many other industrial establishments, economic problems were the prime concern at the Luxembourg Works. The workers here state that their contribution [to improving economic efficiency] is their participation in realizing the program for producing new energy-saving sources of light. At the same time, they expressed their concern that, following a successful year in 1985 and a successful first quarter this year, they are now following behind plan due to a lack of domestic and imported materials.

Aside from economic topics, much discussion was also devoted to party affairs. It was stressed that party discussion is important because the conclusions drawn from such dialogue do much to enrich the party's program because the topics addressed in such discussions are not considered on an everyday basis by the primary party organizations. This was seen as being the result of poor ideological training of party members. The educational and training work in which various forms of party training play an important role should become obligatory.

The meeting was attended by Marian Wozniak who is a member of primary party organization no 4 at the Rosa Luxembourg Works.

##### Railway Workers Criticize Decisionmaking

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Apr 86 pp 1,2

[Article by Henryk Heller: "Pregress PZPR Conferences: the Leszno Region of the Polish State Railways: the Example of Party Members is Decisive"]

[Excerpts] (Own information) "At a meeting of the Leszno Division of the Polish State Railways, the transportation minister gave convincing arguments that there are no barriers to construction. Now that our advisors and other worker representatives have seen to it that the provincial economic plan until the year 1990 has called for the construction of 330 units of housing for railway workers, the Transportation Ministry claims that this cannot be realized due to lack of funds.

"What is the truth? Our minister should only tell us the truth". Edward Raburski, a foreman and mechanic from the Leszno division workshops of the Polish State Railways presented brought these problems before the participants to a preconference of Leszno region railway workers. "I must also blame the commission which allots housing for our region of the state railroads. However, the new commission is nothing more than a "clan" of bosses because what else can you call a commission that does not allow the public or the political groups to participate? Much has been said recently about the coming introduction of a new rate schedule and new regulations concerning the status of foremen but all real news about this subject is kept strictly secret! This violates the rights of the trade unions and union federation".

Many important problems in the work and lives of the Leszno region railway workers were discussed at the preconference PZPR conference in Leszno on 9 April in which 116 delegates took part. The participants presented the views of their primary party organizations on the PZPR Program and the themes to be taken up at the 10th Party Congress. These opinions showed much concern about party and state affairs, the creation of favorable conditions for economic growth in our region of the state railroads. However, the new commission is nothing more than a "clan" of bosses because what else can you call a commission that does not allow the public or the political groups to participate? Much has been said recently about the coming introduction of a new rate schedule and new regulations concerning the status of foremen but all real news about this subject is kept strictly secret! This violates the rights of the trade unions and union federation".

Many important problems in the work and lives of the Leszno region railway workers were discussed at the preconference PZPR conference in Leszno on 9 April in which 116 delegates took part. The participants presented the views of their primary party organizations on the PZPR Program and the themes to be taken up at the 10th Party Congress. These opinions showed much concern about party and state affairs, the creation of favorable conditions for economic growth in our shop as well as that of the stations within the Leszno division.

During the conference, Edward Raburski, a mechanic and foreman from the division's line maintenance shop and a member of the Railway Worker's Trade Union was chosen as the delegate to the 10th Party Congress.



### Slask Polytechnic Staffing Problem

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Apr 86 p 2

[Excerpts] There were 107 delegates present at the preconference party conference at Slask Polytechnic in Gliwice, the largest technical school in Silesia and the Silesia Coal Basin. Manfred Gorywoda took part in this meeting.

In order to fulfill its growing tasks in the achievement of scientific and technical progress, the school must deal with many problems that now plague the academic community. The first of these problems is the teaching cadre. The widespread fact that the status of docent or professor is not achieved until relatively late in life has made it harder to increase the growth of schools or to guide research.

The problems of raising our youth also received much attention during discussion. A very important problem that provoked lively discussion was the combining of didactics with research work under centralized research and development programs and government orders.

In his speech to the conference, Comrade Manfred Gorywoda stressed the important role taken by this school in the country's social and economic development.

Professor Tadeusz Chmielniak, director of the Institute of Machinery and Power Equipment at Slask Polytechnic, was elected as the school's delegate to the 10th Party Congress.

### Grzyb Voted Delegate from 'Radoskor'

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Apr 86 pp 1,2

[Article by Izabella Wajszczuk: "Preconference PZPR Conferences: 'Radoskor': Learn But Do Not Teach"]

[Excerpts] (Own information) At the PZPR Conference held at the Radoskor Plant in Radom, it was stated: "Since those memorable July days, five years have passed, five years rich in experience and regardless of our critical attitude toward the negative phenomena we still see today, we must affirm the proper evaluation of those events and the correctness of the road taken".

Central Committee Politburo Member Zofia Grzyb who is also a member of the Radoskor party organization took part in the conference. Present also was Deputy Politburo member and Foreign Affairs Minister Marian Orzechowski.

One of the two main themes of the discussion was the question of what should be done to realize the party program being debated in 37 primary party organizations.

Zofia Grzyb then took the floor. "I am wondering," she said "whether because I participate in the decisions made by the party leadership, I can successfully take part in their implementation and whether to do so would be in accordance with what the working people feel. There is no easy answer to this. There are so many reasons why this can and cannot be correct," she said. Among the positive reasons, she mentioned openness of party life, close contact with working people thanks to which the increasingly difficult problems of the people are the foundation of the party's action. "The party's political activity," Z. Grzyb stated "has made it possible to bring many people who are not party members into the process of change. However, there still are other problems and issues that we have been unable to resolve regardless of whatever progress we have made in that direction. It is these issues that give the negative response to the problem".

The second very important complex of problems is all of the varied aspects of environmental protection.

The next issue of great importance was pensions and retirement pay.

In later discussion when the participants spoke about the Party Program, their views were similar: in the opinion of the members of the party organization here, the program is not an easy one but neither is it an impossible one, especially when we look at our neighbors and compare our present progress with theirs.

"Poland's international position is growing stronger," said Marian Orzechowski and illustrating this with impressions from his last visit to West Germany. "Poland's position in the world is also the result of consistent realization of the policy of the 9th Congress which has made it possible for us to not have to submit to American blackmail. Poland's position in the world is also determined by her place within the Warsaw Pact and the community of socialist nations. All of these factors force the West to consider Poland and give her due respect in its foreign policy".

Election results were announced and Zofia Grzyb was the elected delegate to the 10th Congress.

Another 11 delegates were chosen for the provincial precongress conferences and 26 for the city conference. This conference was chaired by First Secretary of the Radomskor PZPR Committee Andrzej Szmigiel and Bogdan Prus, first secretary of the Radom Provincial PZPR Committee was also present.

## Lodz University on Ideological Training

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Apr 86 p 2

[Article by Wieslaw Debski: "Lodz: Academic Responsibility for School Improvement"]

[Excerpts] (Own information) On 10 April, the pregress PZPR conference at Lodz University stated: "The recent months have been a time of constructive expansion for our party organization".

"To further improve the ranking of our party organization, it is necessary to develop a political vision for the growth of science and learning at our school and within its individual departments and institutes," stated Antoni Marszalek in reference to the issues that must be dealt with by the party aktiv. The most important of these are to improve foreign academic exchange activity and especially with the socialist countries, to improve administrative work and formulate research programs for the period up to 1990.

"...We must devote less time to the current problems of the school and more to ideological work to shape the attitudes of both party members and nonpartisans and create an atmosphere favorable to academic discussion and dialogue over the future of the country" [Henryk Scholl, first secretary of the University PZPR Committee].

"A higher school cannot become a great specialist in its own field if it is also not successful as an ideological educator" [Janusz Chechlinski].

Henryk Scholl, docent of the Institute of Chemistry, first secretary of the Institute PZPR Committee and a party member for 21 years, was elected as the delegate to the 10th Congress. Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee Tadeusz Czechowicz and Minister of Science and Higher Education Benon Miskiewicz participated in the conference.

### Army Units Fulfill Tasks

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Apr 86 p 2

[Excerpts] The Vistula [nadwislanske] military units of the Internal Affairs Ministry known for their high degree of training and ideological zeal are also an important element of the country's social and economic structure.

The campaign preceding the 10th Party Congress has become an impulse to undertake new and valuable initiatives. The troops have been ordered to fulfill necessary criteria.

During the 10 April PZPR conference of the Vistula military units of the Internal Affairs Ministry, their combat readiness, educational activities and work on behalf of the national economy were discussed. These discussions, conducted under the slogan "Strengthening the socialist foundations of a secure, thrifty, modern and orderly Poland", confirmed the high moral and ideological values of the troops, their concern for the country's universal

social and economic growth and their sensitivity to all signs of evil and dishonesty.

The conference chose 55-year-old Col Edward Wejner, the commander of these units, as its delegate to the 10th Party Congress.

#### Power Plant Construction Firm Conference

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Apr 86 pp 1,2

[Article by Anna Pawlowska: "Precongress PZPR Conferences: The Belchatow Power Plant Construction Company: How to Have a More Stable Work Force"]

[Excerpts] (Own information) Truth is relative: the 5000-man work force of this power plant construction firm has already lost 540 workers this year. It is therefore understandable that the continuation of this worker loss from the largest Polish investment was the chief subject of a precongress party conference on 19 April.

In December 1981, in spite of the difficult economic and political situation, unit I of the electrical power plant was turned over for operation and went on line generate 360 megawatts for our nation's power network. Ever since then, two units per year have been added to our nation's power resources. The plant conference set and accepted the task of accelerating work to complete unit VIII one month before the start of the 10th Party Congress.

But people are leaving the company and for three reasons: wages are lower here than in the neighboring power plants and mines, there is a shortage of housing and spasmodic export contracts are the magnets that are attracting workers to industrial construction.

At the same time, there are two factors that kept people working at the Belchatow Power Plant Construction Firm: satisfaction with the results of their work (due to which the curse of power shut-offs in Poland has ceased) and the high degree of social service. The conference conferred due honors on both of these factors.

The conference chose the plant party organization's first secretary, Wladyslaw Wronio, as its delegate to the 10th Party Congress. He is also one of the four delegates to the provincial party congress.

Politburo Member Albin Siwak participated in the conference. He spoke about the 16 new candidate members accepted into the plant's party organization this year and described the importance that such decisions have on the party and the lives of these people. He also gave a brief description of the party's experiences since the 9th Congress.

### Mielec Plant Views Active Party Organization

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Apr 86 p 1

[Article by Ryszard Zatorski: "The Mielec Transportation Equipment Plant: A Rise in the Activity of the Plant Party Organization"]

[Excerpts] (Own information) At the 15 April plant conference of 160 delegates it was stated that the party organization at the Mielec Transportation Equipment Plant has nearly 3500 members and candidates and is the largest party organization in the southwest region of Poland.

The Mielec party organization places great importance on its cadre policy in areas such as opinions concerning candidates for management positions. As was stated at this conference, this is one of the important factors in the company's production, wages and worker attitudes.

The workers actively support the ideas of the pregress campaign through their high level of productivity as well as the extra work they do in the plant in honor of the 10th Congress and in answer to an appeal by their own primary party organization. The results of this hard work has been the implementation of economic tasks equal in value to a sum of 50 million zlotys. This quarter, the plant has also exported an additional 15 airplanes over the plan (and extra 6 AN-2's and 9 Dromedaries).

Many of the participants pointed out the need to strengthen the influence of the primary party organizations.

To represent the plant, 27 delegates were elected for the provincial party congress.

The delegates elected for the 10th Party Congress were Bernadetta Kilian, secretary of the Rzeszow Provincial PZPR Committee, Jozef Bak, a machine-shop foreman in the aircraft parts division and Edward Sawicki, a grinding machine operator and foreman in the tool division.

### Pioma Factory Seeks More Worker Participation

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Apr 86 p 2

[Article by Jan A. Kraszewski: "FMC Pioma: Explain the Party Policy and Overcome Problems"]

[Excerpts] (Own information) "Let us consider today," said Tadeusz Gierak, a tool-setter and foreman at Pioma in Piotrkow Trybunalski during the pregress conference there, "why there are so few workers in our party organization. This is because not much party work is being



done in many of the plant's divisions and the directors recommended by the party are not always cooperating with the executive boards.

"To get the nonparty people on our side," he continued, "we must encourage friendly interpersonal relations. We must also explain the party's policy and overcome problems because that is the only way we can prove our credibility".

The chairman of the plant's chapter of the Union of Socialist Youth of Poland, Włodzimierz Łukasik, said that his organization is not properly appreciated and that it cannot find a way to gain the resources it needs to operate.

"The party has made enormous progress," said Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk who was participating in this conference, "and that fully justifies the claim that we are 'the same party but not completely the same'".

"The basis of this strength," said the central committee secretary, "is the party's close ties to the masses and the close relationship that the leadership has with its base".

Tadeusz Gierak was chosen as the plant's delegate to the 10th Party Congress. Also participating in this conference were First Secretary of the Piotrków Trybunalski Provincial PZPR Committee Stanisław Kolasa and Minister of Resources and Energy Czesław Piotrowski.

#### Truck Factory Calls for Reform

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Apr 86 p 2

[Article by [mz]: "The Starachowice Truck Factory: Recommendations Must Be Realized"]

[Excerpts] (Own information) The party organization at the Starachowice Truck Factory (in Kielce Province) is rallying the workers around itself both in the areas of political and social life as well as in production work.

At the conference held on 15 April, it was said that the consolidation in political and social life is seen in the systematic growth in recent years of the party membership. This is proved by the fact that the party took the plant's export production under its own patronage and brought about the highest level of production that this factory had ever seen.

The factory director, Tadeusz Banach, made a statement characteristic of the tone of discussion during the conference: "I am for reform but against all conniving and selfish behavior by companies. Let the deductions be given to those who deserve them according to the principles of reform".



27 June 1986

During the conference, 16 party candidate-member cards were given and 13 delegates were chosen for the provincial party congress. Ryszard Lubieniecki, a machine setter, and Henryk Serek, a tool grinder, were chosen as the plant's delegates to the 10th Party Congress.

Kubiak at Jagellonian University Conference

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Apr p 2

[Text] At the pregress party conference at Poland's oldest university, Jagiellonian University in Krakow, it was acknowledged that it is necessary to make a decisive effort against bureaucracy even when it is found within the party. It was stated that it is also necessary to make the party apparatus more responsible to elected organs. This conference was attended by Hieronim Kubiak.

12261

CSO: 2600/441

POLITICS

POLAND

PZPR IDEOLOGICAL COMMISSION REVIEWS PROPAGANDA WORK

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Apr 86 p 2

[Text] The latest meeting of the Ideological Commission of the PZPR Central Committee was held in Warsaw on 10 April. The meeting was chaired by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

It was evaluated that during the period between the 9th and 10th Party Congresses, the commission's activities have contributed much to the revitalization of the party's ideological life and especially to the development of new concepts for ideological and propaganda work and the substance of so many important ideological and programmatic documents.

The commission members received information about the realization of the resolutions of the 12th and 13th Central Committee Plenums by the "Ksiazka i Wiedza" [Books and Knowledge] Publishing House. In its ideological work, the PZPR now places primary emphasis on the dissemination of socialism's entire theoretical and scholarly achievements and especially the works of V.I. Lenin and the Ksiazka i Wiedza Publishing House has done much valuable work in this regard.

Therefore, in realization of the resolution of the 12th Plenum, Ksiazka i Wiedza has published about 20-30 books about the classic Marxist-Leninist works. An important event is the publication of a new edition of the complete works of V.I. Lenin. In cooperation with Progress Publishers in the Soviet Union, Ksiazka i Wiedza has now released nearly 20 thematic selections from classic Marxist-Leninist works.

12261  
CSO: 2600/436

27 June 1986

POLITICS

POLAND

## PARTY TRAINING PROGRAM IMPROVEMENT NOTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Apr 86 p 2

[Article by [Waj]: "Improvement of the Party Training Program: Consistent Deepening of Knowledge"]

[Text] (Own information) For three years, a Politburo and Central Committee Secretariat resolution on party training has been realized with good results.

Although it has confirmed itself in practice and begun to spread, the system of this training has already become insufficient for the needs of the present situation and needs of the party. It therefore needs to be modified while retaining all of those elements that have gained popularity among party members as well as instructors. Some of the prospective changes were discussed on 14 April at a Central Committee meeting which was organized by the Ideological Department in conjunction with the Provincial Center for Ideological Indoctrination and the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism. The meeting was chaired by the director of the Ideological Department, Wladyslaw Lorenc.

The present system includes three types of training: candidate training, mass training in the form of ideological meetings and party aktiv training. Of these three forms of training, it is the ideological meetings that most need modification.

The changes introduced to the present system should more effectively prepare party members to participate in their places of work and residence. The proposed changes to the training system therefore call for the creation of ideological training groups and seminars that would deal predominantly with ideological and theoretical problems. This would make possible a gradual but consistent deepening of knowledge.

The introduction of this system requires solid and careful didactic and methodological preparation to provide these new forms of training with good subject matter and interesting discussion methods. A draft of the modified system will be presented to the 10th Party Congress.

POLITICS

POLAND

CC MEMBER BEDNARSKI REVIEWS CURRENT PROGRAM DISCUSSION

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Apr 86 p 2

[Text] ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIALY, a publication of the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Department, has in its 19 April issue released a conversation with Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski titled "The Course and Results of Discussion of the Party Program".

The following are the main points of that interview:

- It was established that the primary party organizations have devoted two meetings to the draft of the Party Program and this was done in nearly all organizations. The course of these meetings proves the widespread interest in the draft. The ZSL and SD, members of youth organizations, unions, PRON and social organizations are also discussing the draft within their own groups.
- Most of the discussions led to acceptance of the main directions and goals of the program. At the same time, there was also much criticism and many proposals for changes were submitted.
- The results of these discussions show the need for clearer organization of goals and tasks with the lead being taken by economic tasks to accelerate the overcoming of difficulties and to take up a course of balanced growth.
- Among the public goals of management, the leading ones were resolving the question of housing, better quality and amount of supplies, limiting inflation, satisfying the most urgent growth needs of education and culture and protecting human health and the environment.
- Much attention was devoted to the problem of fair principles of wage remuneration, the need to base earnings on the work quality and results and eliminating speculation and dishonest forms of personal enrichment as well high income not derived from one's own labor.

-- The problems of ideological and educational work, especially among youth, took an important place in the discussions.

-- There were frequent demands that the program not only outline appropriate goals but more fully define the means for achieving them.

-- The program cannot specify particular forms and instruments nor may it forecast figures to set the country's growth. It must therefore be characterized by a certain degree of generality. The basic form for specifying the assumptions of the program will be resolutions by subsequent party congresses, delegate conferences, Central Committee plenums and the state social and economic plans.

-- The essence of the social and economic strategy of the Program is improvement of the public's standard of living and distinct progress in satisfying our material, social and cultural needs which according to the Program is supposed to be reflected in a 50-percent growth in per-capita consumption by the year 2000.

-- The draft to the Program makes no promises. Everything depends upon how efficiently we act. It is our work, steadfastness, ability to act efficiently, courage to innovate and our drive to look for and find new and very effective methods that will determine the Program's success.

-- The party is the motive force for progress in all areas. The party must draw the most profound conclusions from the times in which we live, take strong initiatives everywhere that this is required and increase the demands it makes of its members, organizations, instances and the executive apparatus.

-- Placing a strong emphasis on the unbreakable bond between changes in economics, policy and our awareness, the Program draft formulates the chief attributes and the lasting values of socialist educational ideals.

-- The realization of socialist justice is therefore the drive for ever-greater social balance. The Program draft interprets this as equal opportunities in life, equal measure, equality before the law, equal situation and universal social welfare.

-- The preliminary results of discussion and the fruits of work by the Congress Commission group working out the program will be presented to the PZPR Central Committee at the beginning of June.

12261  
CSO: 2600/436

2/ June 1986

POLAND

POLAND

# THE POLISH CATHOLIC 'INCOGNITA' HISTORY EDUCATION

1. 1949 Krakow: WYDOLNIE POWSALCENNY In Polish 4 May 86 pp 1,2

[The Polish episcopate's pastoral letter to the faithful on St. Mary's Day on 3 May]--Issued at Jasna Gora on 3 May]

[Excerpts] Dearest brothers and sisters, as ever we will celebrate 3 May as the day of St. Mary, the Queen of Poland.

In this connection, we want to recall the important events of the Catholic church's most recent history in Poland. These events in the form of various vows and acts of national piety--St. Mary of Jasna Gora bears witness to them--illustrate the history of our struggles for the nation's Christian and Polish image and constitute the milestones along the Polish road to God. These events have often protected us against unpleasantness and catastrophe.

We wish to recall these events to keep alive the memory of the people and factors that have determined our national fate. It is with sadness that we note that school curricula and national education programs tend to minimize historical events, to deal only with selected events, and to teach children and youths incomplete history. This is as harmful as bringing up fictitious heroes, while ignoring Poland's truly heroic sons and daughters. Passing over in silence the contributions made by the church and believers to the treasure-house of our history creates justifiable distrust, makes the people feel that they are being wronged, and results in frustration and in the breaking off of the vital bonds between generations.

On the threshold of the present postwar period our people renewed their faith with St. Mary of Jasna Gora on 8 September 1946. This is what Wyszynski wrote at the time: "About a million people have gathered at Jasna Gora. No special appeals have been made to them to come and not a penny has been spent on propaganda. They have come at the bidding of their hearts and out of their own free will."

Some 50 years ago in 1936 our nation offered its vows to Jasna Gora in anticipation of our Christian millennium. That year was a year of a great trial for the church and for Poland's Christian character. Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński wrote this to the prior of the Pauline brothers in Jasna Gora on 10 November 1936: "The hatred of God, sin, and horrible afflictions have



continued to save the nation's soul, which was subjected to the spirit of racial hatred and programmed moral apostasy."

It was precisely in this situation that Poland, which was dedicated to St. Mary, summoned unexpected strength, inspiration, and a posture to defend itself. The church, which so often in history has been our fatherland's reliable protector and moral authority, saw the need for a program for Poland's moral renewal. Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński proved to be a providential envoy of Jasna Góra's St. Mary. It was he who proposed that we should make vows at Jasna Góra in connection with Poland's Christian Millennium. Let us not forget that the year 1956, in which those vows were made, was the year of "Polish October" with its breath of freedom and the year of the release of the prince of Poland from his internment.

We are approaching the great anniversary of the second millennium of Christianity in the world. In the period before this anniversary we want to accomplish the great task of morally renewing our nation at the behest of our old and new vows. We want to honor these vows by liberating ourselves from whatever is bad, especially from sin, and by investing goodness in whatever we do.

Signed: Polish Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops.

/12913

CSO: 2600/481

POLITICS

POLAND

## ARTICLES ANALYZE, DEBATE CHURCH STATE DIALOGUE

### Catholic Magazine Assessment

AU281406 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 18 May 86 pp 1,4

[SLAWONIR SIWEK Article: "What is Worth Going Back To?"]

[Excerpts] On 5 April 1982 the primate's social council issued theses on social agreement and on 8 April 1982 Cardinal Jozef Glemp attached to them a letter addressed to Polish Archbishops and Bishops. This letter constituted a commentary on theses and the first voice in the discussion on them.

The letter was written because it was obvious from the very beginning that the theses would become a subject of many controversies on the part of representatives of the administration and on the part of various social groups. The theses were addressed to the two sides of the conflict in those days or, to put it more mildly, of the sociopolitical controversy.

Looking back, what should we regret in connection with these theses? The primary regret is that the theses did not become the starting point for a nationwide discussion as expected not only by their authors, but also by the nation. The authors did realize that they would be attacked, but they also knew that the nation was waiting for a signal even a controversial signal, that would provide a psychological moment for giving free vent to public thinking. We should bear in mind that the theses were formulated just a few months after the shock triggered by martial law. The trauma was enormous and anxiety was even greater. That is why neither the trauma nor anxiety nor the speed with which decisions were made could have been favorable factors in drawing up the theses. No doubt it is now possible to assert that an error was made: many people refused to have any discussion on the theses because they regarded them as too "appeasing" and many important people in the administrative apparatus did not want any discussion because it might "incite the moods." As a result, the Catholic communities' readiness to enter into a dialogue, the champion of which from the very beginning was Cardinal Glemp, who was misunderstood in many respects, was blocked.

As for the Cardinal's letter of 8 April 1982, it clearly stated that the fact that (conventionally speaking) the people of the church put forward any social or political postulates must not be regarded as a desire to introduce clericalism into public life. This statement is all valid and also applies

to what the clergy and the hierarchy of the Catholic Church have to say. People who are adverse to the Church often criticize its observations on social matters, especially if these observations do not fit the scheme of the authorities' political tactics. At such times there is a resurgence of the social mass media's attacks against the Church from purely political positions and not from ideological positions, which could after all, be natural.

To be approach to the issue of an open discussion of our country's difficult problems--every citizen and every institution has the right to such a discussion--diminishes the dialogue between the Church and the state on national problems. This dialogue is now all the more difficult since many people identify the interests of the state with the interests of the state administrative apparatus or some other organization. This is but a step away from trying to push the people around.

The basis for the dialogue was announced by Catholic circles in 1982 is a permanent basis. Cardinal Bishops' letter of 7 April 1982 detailed the conditions under which this dialogue could succeed. First, there would have to be an open discussion about matters of the highest importance for the Polish people. Second, the dialogue would have to begin with the basic issue--the provision of a desirable social-national climate. In that letter Cardinal Bishops wrote: "The most difficult thing is to define the social-national climate because it depends on the emotional response to actual events. The climate we live in now is a minimum of one's trust in another human being, in a social group, in mass media, and in the authorities. All the present attempts to gain trust in the activities of the authorities and public figures have been put in doubt, not only because of prejudices and rumors, but above all because of the rather arbitrary actions of the lower-grade officials and because of the authorities' decisions that the community is unable to understand."

In the face of our nation, the majority of whom remain in communion with the Church, the social-national climate that is favorable to agreement or at least to non-intention and good will must be created through specific measures that secure one's right to religious freedom.

Our theologians very often express concern about some people's desire to push around the Church and its institutions and clergy in line with the principle of collective responsibility and in line with expediency. In this connection the Church appeals for common sense and for the full understanding of its principal function, because suppositions that it wants to introduce clericalism into public life are baseless. The Church has not been and will never be a political party. As for public affairs, there is room within it for various views. However, it is the Church's right morally to evaluate social or political matters. This evaluation would amount to political activity if an election campaign and the taking over of power were at stake. But only those who not only fail to understand, but who do not want to understand the Church's mission can view its moral position in this way. At such times the Church's work is deprived by such a way as to hinder the development of the climate of trust. I think that in lower social evaluations are made, it will be difficult--if not impossible--to eliminate whatever in the

view of the faithful frustrates the climate of trust. This climate can be created by attending to at least a few specific matters such as:

- The legal solution of the problem of noncriminal prisoners;
- Completing the discussion on the Church's legal status;
- Solving the legal issue of the institutional charitable activities of the Church;
- The legal status of the theological departments at universities;
- Treating Church and religious construction projects as a normal feature of the rights of believers;
- Treating in the above way the issue of the entire publishing work of the Church and the press organs of the lay Catholics that have links with the Polish Episcopal Commission for social mass media;
- Positively solving the issue of the Agricultural Foundation. The faithful view this issue as a spectacular [spektakularny] testimony to the partnerlike, autonomous, and genuine (and not lip-service) agreement between the top-level authorities and the Church on the subject of the economy--a specific and urgent subject.

I would also view the emergence of a favorable social and national climate with regard to economic issues as lying in concrete and unambiguous facts. A postulate which once appeared in the pages of PRZGLĄD KATOLICKI should perhaps be remembered: It suggested the initiation of discussion on the resolution of the economic dilemmas in the Polish economic system within an autonomous milieu comprising people who enjoy public credibility and who are representative of the broadest possible range of views, a discussion which is not conducted in accordance with a scheme fixed in advance but one which flows from the desire to introduce a qualitatively new dimension into the socioeconomic map. This postulate did not get beyond the stage of discussion within a closed circle and that is regrettable. An attitude of hostility and unwillingness toward innovation in this area is out of place. It has nothing to do with taking a realistic view of what we can do and what we want to do. At the 212th plenary conference of the Polish Episcopate it was stated openly that ideological and political restrictions in any country in the world do not constitute a path which leads to the resolution of economic problems.

History teaches us much. It is not necessarily the case that something that was once raised without ending in success should immediately be regarded as lost. This is especially true when the matter in question concerns a nation's vital interests.

Fundamentalists of various camps can charge that discussion about the need to create a climate conducive to the emergence of a sensible pattern of social relations is not useful because what we are dealing with is reality as it is.

27 June 1986

But reality is subject to change, and this is determined above all by the needs of the individual and the collectivity. To end, at least one of the statements contained in the primatist social council theses of four years ago ought to be cited because it deserves to be remembered and is still of relevance today: "It is not possible to count on a change in the situation until we have done all that we should. The only solution lies in the mobilization of energies and in collective effort, as long as this is used prudently and sensibly. That is why postulates should be addressed to the authorities but also by each member of society to himself. These postulates should not be abstract ones but postulates that can be realized under the conditions we have, on our earth...."

#### ZYCIE WARSZAWY Writer Responds

AW022031 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27-29 May 86 p 3

[Zdzislaw Morawski article: "If You Ask For Directions You Will Not Go Wrong"]

[Text] It was with attention and interest that I read Slawomir Swiek's article "What is Worth Going Back To," published by issue 20 of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. Formally speaking, this article was published on the fourth anniversary of the publication of the "theses of social agreement," which were formulated by the Primat's Social Council. S. Swiek is frank in admitting that some of these theses "have lost their topicality. Subsequent events have clarified the situation. We know more about intentions and we continue to search for other ways of solving conflicts. Both within the circles of power and the social communities outside of power the issue of agreement is being viewed in a different way and the term 'concord' is being understood differently at times."

We agree absolutely! However, the statement that the theses of four years ago have partially lost their topicality clearly indicates that their fourth anniversary is a pretext for an article on very important current matters and on future matters. In view of the fact that the TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY article was published six weeks before the PZPR Congress and that in his other article published in the GOSPODARSTWO weekly on 18 May Swiek quotes from the Congress theses, it is possible to assume that he tries to take a stand on the crucial issues of our reality, issues about which the coming congress is to make crucial decisions.

It is certainly worth considering the two articles because in my view they express a certain general idea: "The position on the dialogue as announced by the Catholic circles in 1982 is a permanent position," W. Swiek states in his TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY article and adds in conclusion:

"It is not necessary to declare as lost that which has once been said, but which has not resulted in a success. This is especially so in matters concerning the nation's vital interests."



"The fundamental thesis on various sides may argue that dissolving the moral front is favorable to developing meaningful social relations is undesirable because it have to deal with reality as it is."

"However, reality changes and is primarily determined by the will of man or of the community. At the end of this article, it is worth questioning at least one statement contained in the theses published twenty years ago because it is still valid: 'It is impossible to expect a change in the situation is long; as we have not done whatever we should do. We must create freedom. The mobilization of forces and collective efforts are the only way out, provided that these efforts are used purposefully and wisely. That is why postulates should be presented to the authorities. That is why every member of the community should present postulates to himself. These postulates should not be something abstract, but should be feasible for fulfillment under our conditions and in our country.'"

I think that we should welcome such an attitude with interest that is not devoid of sympathy. However, we cannot help noticing that B. Stuck attaches many reservations and conditions to his renewed or increased interest in the dialogue--reservations and conditions which he also states in the name of the Church and its authorities. Ignoring them could amount to journalistic unreliability and could be recognized as such by dropping all or part of them. But this is not the case. Since it is impossible in a brief article to deal with all the features of the two important issues, I will focus my attention on basic issues and will ignore by necessity some other ones.

At first, I would like to put right certain information. It must be noted that the theses published by the Prime Minister's Council were never published and could not play their role for this reason. Perhaps this is true of the Catholic press, but the theses were published and the output was large. The weekly *PRACOWNIK I KRYWICKI*, which is published for the party circles and is obtainable by subscription only, carried them in its 20th issue in May 1972.

The author commented extensively on the theses in a sympathetic way, pointed out that the issues are worth addressing if they involve a more substantial concept and not just a meeting. The commentary is in this way: "It is not important where you come from. It is important what intentions you have. We stretch our hand to you."

B. Stuck's two articles express the following views published by *PRACOWNIK I KRYWICKI*: "The old formula for our needs... provided the basis for a given idea and its institutional expression. The new formula that is, the one that results from the passages of the program... signed by the Pope (JANUARY 1972) (JANUARY 1972) states that it should be... before and not after the fact. Is this what the program is all about?"

The answer to this question is yes, and we should add that the program is given by the facts a long time ago. For example, when we meet people who claim that the authorities proposed that... member of the Executive... enjoy the trust of the Church... for the... The program is not acted upon. It is... in... in...

the trust of the Church hierarchy were more numerous in the present Sejm than it really is, it is certain that their voice in commissions and plenary sessions would gain in political significance, would strengthen the partnerlike character of the dialogue about the basic state issues, and, of course, would increase the social range and significance of their words spoken in the Sejm.

I also know that about three years ago Professor Czeslaw Bobrowski, chairman of the Consultative Economic Council of the Council of Ministers, brought about a meeting between the council members and representatives of the Primate's Social Council. It was the intention of C. Bobrowski and of other people to initiate a partnerlike dialogue on economic issues--a dialogue at an independent forum discussing future decisions and not those already made. In this case, too, the initiative that could have permanently committed the Catholic economists--enjoying the Church's trust--to research work concerning Polish economic policy, ran aground up against the intentions of "the state circles." It was only recently that some few activists and experts with direct ties to the Church joined the team of Sejm advisors. However, they decided not to join the Consultative Economic Council.

These examples clearly show that there is opposition to creating better conditions for the dialogue on a broader spectrum of political and social matters. This opposition does not emanate from the circles connected with the power center.

In view of this, it is worth pondering on the probable reasons for a certain ostracism demonstrated by the lay Catholics connected with the Church hierarchy vis-a-vis the participation in the bodies that function side by side with the authorities. These Catholics have paid, and in some cases still continue to pay, more attention to the views and moods of the champions of total negation than to the views of the people, including those in the Church hierarchy, who think constructively and realistically and form independent judgments. Within some communities connected with the Church the opposition against the dialogue with the authorities has developed. This opposition prefers all forms of anathema to any kind of dialogue. This opposition has never been substantial, and we should stress this if only out of respect for Cardinal Wyszyński who died five years ago today. However, this opposition was and is still strong enough to discourage the people of the Church who are for the dialogue from committing themselves more obviously to the dialogue, to make life loathsome to them, and to promote here and there the ugly and unchristian vogue for the penitent's garb and the crown of thorns which, in this case, are used as a political decoration that makes it easier to live in peace and to shed all responsibility for public matters.

The significance of the two articles I am dealing with also lies in their rejection of such attitudes. This brings us to an age-old issue, one that is also raised by Gierk, that of where the boundary between morality and politics lies, the boundary between the Church's natural mission and all that does not and should not concern the Church. This is an extremely controversial issue, one that generates disagreement the world over, and one that cannot be outlined in only one article. Let us just say that, referring to the critical observations made by the author of both articles, dialogue is possible when

the principle is adopted that the Church operates within the state and not vice versa. It is not the state within the Church. Let us add that there is a danger of life in Poland being clericalized, although let for God's sake not overdo this. The Church hierarchy itself had to express a view on these current issues which attest to the existence of such a danger in order to eliminate deviations and anachronisms of this kind. I am thinking of certain pilgrimages, certain actions leading to conflict concerning schools, and work in domains.

Editor Clark also complains about "the spectacular launching of successive propaganda attacks against the Church." This matter calls for some clarification. I am not expressing a view on the form of polemic, I myself try to maintain a manner that is not aggressive and one that is serious, in spite of the fact of such importance as relations between believers and non-believers in our country. However, one reservation must be voiced. I must say that if serious accusations are made against the authorities and their political infrastructure from within the bosom of the Church, and these accusations are published in the Church press, then they cannot but arouse polemics; these accusations must receive a public reply. This is also a valuable form of dialogue; one that frequently explains prejudices and clears up misunderstandings, or removes taboos of various kinds. The Church, especially our native Church, has not grown accustomed to criticism, in contrast to most of these institutions. This sensitivity to criticism—which is often presented as a defense of the faith or the defense of absolute moral truths—is a relic from the past. In today's role, a denial of the dialogue which is called for by reality, is seen as the feelings of believers are not hurt and patterns of conduct accepted by civilized people are observed.

Editor Clark has mentioned not only. In an article in GOSC NIEZMIENNY Editor Clark raises a number of questions, addressing them I believe, to the authors of the program as themes and asking them to remove certain doubts. He has asked me only to clarify certain statements contained in the document ought to be put right. I have already replied to certain of these questions; some of these questions need an answer from me that they have doubtless already been given to me, in one form or another. He asks, for example, what is meant by "religious forms of cooperation," a matter dealt with in the preface. It may be said, for example, that the formula of the patriotic movement, our national revival—which has a very broad character—is not exclusively religious, and this does not mean that the movement exists in religious forms. The religious forms of issues connected with understanding, religiously, the initiatives concerning forms and forums of dialogue which the Church has as one of its institutional principles can constitute priorities in religious action, the importance of which is being justified now and more frequently in the arena of the press connected with the Church.

In his last article, Editor Clark speaks about the conditions for the old, large-scale religious action, of course, take place on the basis of certain conditions that have taken place within a framework of a society that is in a process of change. I only hope that it should not be moved.

I am, Editor Clark, a person who is not a member of the Church, and I believe that I am not a member of the Church, and I believe that I am not a member of the Church.

believe that recent articles in the Church press serve this fundamental goal. Posing questions, and this is what Editor Birch does in relation to matters concerning national understanding, is certainly a more fruitful approach than one of rash judgment, definitive prejudgment, and a priori rejection.

/12913

CSO: 2600/461

POLITICS

POLAND

WEEKLY CITES TISCHNER ON FAITH, IDEOLOGY

AU041417 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 25 May 86 p 3

[From the "From the Press" column signed "JK": "A Polish Retreat"]

[Text] This year's Easter retreat in Gdansk brought together large crowds of people in the city's churches. It so happened that among those priests conducting the retreat were several priests who are known throughout Poland, celebrated authors of books on philosophy and theology, among them Father Professor Jozef Tischner, and the Dominican priests: Jacek Salij and Jan Andrzej Kloczowski. To acquaint its general leadership with the priests who conducted the retreat, the editors of GWIAZDA MORZA decided to publish conversations with the priests in three successive editions of the paper under the common heading "A Polish Retreat." The first talk, with Father Professor Tischner, was conducted by Henryk Dobosz and appeared under the title "Do Not Extinguish the Spirit" (issue no. 10/86). He said, inter alia, that "there exists a certain fascination with the church, especially on the part of those who decide to return to the Church. But it is hard to say unequivocally what the source of this fascination is. Perhaps it is a fascination with power. A power which does not depend on force or compulsion, for no one is made to believe or to practice religion, but it is nevertheless a power over man. People listen to religion of their own accord. It is really surprising how people have heeded religion over the last 40 years.

"I think that the church has a language and a doctrine that can order human experience in the light of history. Thanks to the church every tragedy can find a historical reference, no one suffers alone, they have a predecessor, and a great one, in the form of Christ."

Speaking about contemporary reality, Professor Tischner drew a parallel with the times of Paul. He said: "and we feel as if something is burning up in man, that there is only enough material left to cause smoke and not enough to produce a flame. When everything is burned up a turning-point will be reached. But this takes place imperceptibly, preparations are made for it over years and decades. Something still persists but we feel that is already dying. And then suddenly...it can come as a very straightforward surprise, conveyed by man. He might discover forms for such structures as the state, political power, and the economy. For example, the world economy has hitherto been driven on by the ideal of struggle, competition. It seems that this ideal is at an end. And, in general, we are seeing the decline of various



ideologies. Various ideologies are petering out, ideologies that were once received as recipes for human happiness. A clear return to religion is taking place. There is also a need for Christianity to be reinterpreted so that it can be better applied to the times in which we live."

Asked whether this is also taking place here in Poland, Professor Tischner replied affirmatively, suggesting that this "ought to cause a qualitative change to take place in Poland. A change should also occur in people's attitudes toward the situation in which they find themselves. A decisive moment will be reached when Poles become convinced that the problems they have to solve are of a general European kind, even world problems, and not problems of a purely local kind."

"The Polish tradition possesses a beautiful notion, that of labor for the nation. It refers to those fields in which work cannot be performed badly: the work of the farmer, teacher, and physician. Certain work must function smoothly in every situation, for if it does not then national well-being is endangered."

"I have developed an interest in the culture of the Tatra highlands," confides Father Tischner at the end of the conversation, "unusual things are taking place there. Folk culture is developing more rapidly in the Tatras highlands in response to television culture. This is connected with the Church and has a genuine foundation. I think this is something of a milestone because at the present time although culture is so exclusive it is an area of the greatest social importance. And it is a good thing that the church has understood this."

/12913

CSO: 2600/431

END

**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

27 AUGUST 1986